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OUIATANON DOCUMENTS

translated and edited

by Frances Krauskopf

INDIANAPOLIS
INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
1955

FOREWORD

THE FRENCH PERIOD is, perhaps, less familiar than any other segment of Indiana history. Yet French explorers, missionaries, and traders constituted the dominant European influence in this area for nearly a century. Until the end of the Seven Years War the French maintained their commercial and military hegemony through three "Indiana" posts, Fort Miamis, Vincennes, and Fort Ouiatanon.

Dr. R. B. Wetherill, a physician of Lafayette, became interested in the history of Fort Ouiatanon and assembled a substantial collection of materials relating to the post. This collection, consisting largely of transcripts from the French and Canadian archives, is now the property of the Tippecanoe County Historical Association which Dr. Wetherill headed for fifteen years.

Possession of the Wetherill Collection led the Association to suggest that the Indiana Historical Society publish a selection of Fort Ouiatanon documents. The Executive Committee of the Society acted favorably on this proposal in 1951. Through the good offices of Professor John D. Barnhart of Indiana University the services of Dr. Frances Krauskopf, then a graduate student in history, were obtained as translator and editor. Dr. Krauskopf has examined many hundreds of documents in photostat in her search for the items which best illustrated the function and operation of the post.

The Society is grateful to Dr. Krauskopf for her diligent and scholarly labor in translating and editing. The Society is also indebted to the Tippecanoe County Historical Association for making the original suggestion and for its gracious cooperation throughout the project.

HUBERT H. HAWKINS, *Secretary*

INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

PREFACE

IN THIS *Publication* the Indiana Historical Society presents a selection of documents relating to Ouiatanon, a French military-trading post established in 1717 on the upper Wabash near the present town of Lafayette in Tippecanoe County. A number of years ago the late Dr. Richard B. Wetherill of Lafayette began to collect such documents from the archives of Canada and France; this collection is now in the Tippecanoe County Historical Museum. From it and from other pertinent documents the items here published have been selected.

These documents are only a few representatives of the many which still exist. They have been chosen for their importance in the history of the post or for the light they shed on the life of the inhabitants. The translations are not intended to be literary models but rather to transmit as closely as possible the thoughts of the writers, who were men of another century writing and expressing themselves in a style peculiar to their time. In some instances handwritings were difficult to decipher, in others the meaning was not entirely clear; by and large, however, the translations represent the ideas their writers intended to convey.

Every author is necessarily indebted to many persons and institutions for assistance in the preparation of his manuscript. Individuals who were especially helpful in the present instance include John D. Barnhart, Donald F. Carmony, and Francis W. Gravit, all of the faculty of Indiana University, and the staff of the Indiana Historical Bureau at Indianapolis. The Inter-library Loan Division of Indiana University, Indiana University itself, the Judicial Archives at Montreal, the Canadian Archives at Ottawa, and the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress contributed immeasurably to the completion of the task.

F. K.

INTRODUCTION*

THE FRENCH POST at Ouiatanon dates from the year 1717,¹ more than a century after Samuel de Champlain had founded the first permanent French colony at Quebec in 1608. During that century the French, motivated by desire for glory and wealth and by missionary zeal, had established themselves on the lower St. Lawrence and lower Mississippi and had explored much of the interior drained by the two water systems. Here and there in the far interior were scattered tiny outposts, such as Michilimackinac, Detroit, and Illinois, but none was large or flourishing.

Ouiatanon was established by the French government at Quebec about the same time that French territory on the North American continent was separated into the colony of Louisiana in the Mississippi basin and Canada in the north. Although never clearly defined, in the Wabash Valley the boundary between the two colonies passed between Ouiatanon and the younger post at Vincennes,² which was founded early in the 1730's.

Why did the French put a post among the Ouiatanon? For many years they had feared the expansion of the English

* Much of the source material for the study of French civilization in North America is found in documents preserved in the French Archives. Many of them have been photostated or transcribed for the Library of Congress and the Canadian Archives at Ottawa. For this study the most important series were C11A, C13A, C11E, and those portions of the B series which were available. While the majority of these documents were supplied by the Library of Congress, the Canadian Archives kindly provided selected items from the B series. Both the Library of Congress and the Canadian Archives have extensive files of the various C series, while the Canadian Archives' holdings are also strong in the B series.

¹See footnote 6. The name of the post derives from the neighboring Ouiatanon Indians (spelling varies), a branch of the Miami.

²C11A43:104.

into the Ohio Valley and British tampering with the Indians. Time was to prove these fears well justified, for the Ohio Valley was the area most vulnerable to English penetration.³ When in 1715 the government in France granted permission to re-establish the permit system of trading with the Indians, one of the reasons given was that the officials hoped to conciliate the Ottawa, Miami, and Illinois, who were all middlemen in the fur trade for the more distant tribes.⁴ Along with this

³In most instances British traders, operating under a system of free enterprise, could undersell their French counterparts, who were handicapped by a monopoly system.

⁴The fur trade of Canada was centralized under strict government supervision in the hope of bringing the supply into harmony with demands in France. At times the government issued licenses to permit a certain number of canoes with a specified number of crew to trade in the interior. But in spite of all regulations, unauthorized traders remained a constant problem.

In 1696, in an attempt to control the supply, traders were withdrawn from the West and efforts were made to concentrate all trade at posts under commandants. But after this plan failed because of wars and Iroquois competition, the licensing system was reintroduced in 1715 and 1716, revoked in 1719, and re-established in 1728; it existed alongside a system for leasing posts. In 1742 orders were issued to auction the posts to the highest bidder, who could sublease; however, higher prices and poorer goods excited great discontent among the Indians. In 1749, after the close of the War of the Austrian Succession or King George's War, the licensing system was restored in some posts, in general those where English competition was greatest.

Merchants in Canada supplied French goods to the persons authorized to trade with the Indians. These goods were packed for transport in the canoes, each of which could carry a load valued somewhere between \$2,500 and \$3,000 in present-day currency. When a trader brought his furs to Montreal, he was forced to sell them at a fixed price to a monopoly which had received exclusive rights from the government. For a more complete discussion of the fur trade see Harold A. Innis, *The Fur Trade of Canada* (New Haven; Yale University Press, 1930), pp. 5-151, and Louise Phelps Kellogg, *The French Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest* (Madison, 1925), *passim*.

See also Edouard Richard, "Report on Paris Archives," in *Report on Canadian Archives, 1899, Supplement*, 119, 543; C11A35:250-250v; C11A40:52v-53, 54v, 293v; C11A41:405v-407; C11A42:14v-16; C11A43:206; Public Archives of Canada, B42-4:305; Peter Wraxall, *An Abridgment of Indian*

change in policy, the governor was given a free hand to found and garrison as many posts in the upper country as he thought necessary.⁵

Among them was Ouiatanon, in their view the one closest to the English. Plans called for a military force of a captain, a subordinate officer, and ten soldiers to break the supposed connections between the Wea (Ouiatanon) and the English of Carolina and to keep peace with the Illinois. But at first this step was intended to be only a temporary measure because of the post's distance from the colony and because of the difficulties involved in supporting a garrison there. The French were to try to persuade the Wea to return to Chicago or at least to the upper Kankakee, where they would be much less likely to trade with the English. Part of the bait was a suggestion to send a missionary if they moved to the vicinity of the lakes.

Ensign François Picoté de Bellestre was the agent chosen to carry out these plans; Detroit supplied a blacksmith. Because several Wea chiefs had died while visiting Detroit in 1715, some presents were sent along to "cover" their death; and additional gifts were to be given to persuade the chiefs to move. Instructions were also sent to Jean-Baptiste Bissot de Vincennes, who was with the Miami eighty leagues closer to Montreal, to use his influence with the Wea. These orders were issued because Vincennes often communicated with the latter tribe and also because his prestige was as great among them as among the Miami; therefore, he might be able to facilitate the success of the plan.

Whether the Wea moved or whether they remained where they were, the governor had resolved to send them a captain

Affairs, Contained in Four Folio Volumes, Transacted in the Colony of New York, from the Year 1678 to the Year 1751, edited by Charles H. McIlwain (Cambridge, Mass., 1915), p. 123.

⁵ "Correspondence entre M. de Vaudreuil et la Cour," in *Rapport de l'archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1947-1948*, pp. 298-299, hereafter cited as *RAQ*; Public Archives of Canada, B39-4:896-897.

in the spring of 1718 because the Indians had more respect for an officer of this rank than they did for a subordinate. He selected Charles Renaud Dubuisson as the most capable officer available. Dubuisson had distinguished himself in the Indian wars of 1712, when he had commanded at Detroit.⁶

For several years officialdom discussed the project of moving the Wea and the Miami back to the Lake Michigan area, but small success followed. In 1720 the governor dispatched Ensign Dumont and Simon Reaume to pacify these tribes and to keep them from being deceived by their pro-English chiefs. Should the two nations decide to migrate, traders were to go to them at St. Joseph. Although from forty to fifty Wea did move to the Kankakee, they refused to remain there when the majority of the tribe did not follow. Likewise most of the Miami remained at the headwaters of the Maumee, where the elder Vincennes had died in 1719.⁷

After these refusals, the governor felt that it was very important not to abandon the Indians. He therefore sent Dubuisson in August, 1721, to occupy a post among the Miami and to command there as well as among the Wea, but Dubuisson was to live with the Miami so that he could forestall the effects of English intrigue. At the Wea post the younger Vincennes,

⁶ Dubuisson was unable to go to the post immediately. C11A38:164-164v; C11A40:184v-187; C11A41:145-147v, 220-220v; C11A124:9-9v, 46-48; Public Archives of Canada, B42-4:303. The Wea warrior strength was estimated as 1,000 or 1,200 in 1718. C11A39:361v. A discussion of the founding of Ouiatanon usually raises the question of priority. Apparently Ouiatanon was the first official French post within the boundaries of the state. It is true that the elder Vincennes had been with the Miami before this date, but seemingly his role was that of a resident agent, although there is no official statement to that effect. At any rate, surviving records do not mention an official post at the head of the Maumee until 1721, when Fort Saint Philippe was constructed.

⁷ C11A41:145-146; C11A42:158-160v, 166v-169; C11A43:42-49v, 137-140v, 326-326v, 328-328v; C11A44:356-362, 366-367v; C11A124:551v-552, 626; *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVI, 394-395, 399; Public Archives of Canada, B44-2:318-319, B45-1:279-281; Richard, "Report on Paris Archives," in *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1904, K, 27.

François-Marie, who was in command under orders of Du-buisson, was very useful because of the great influence he had acquired over the Indians; they were said to retain for him the same attachment they had had for his father.⁸

For a number of years Vaudreuil had planned to dispatch a missionary to the Miami, because the government felt that clergymen in the various frontier posts would keep the natives under French influence while they were learning Christian truths. At last in May, 1725, he issued a permit to R. P. Guimoneau, a Jesuit, to leave for the Miami and Ouiatanon with two canoes and a servant. The missionary reached his post and was still there the following year.⁹

Fear of so-called English aggression in the Ohio Valley recurred constantly in the thinking of French officials during the 1720's, and striking successes of the British with the southern Indians aroused visions and predictions of similar trade and influence with the Illinois, Miami, and Wea. By 1726 Louisiana was so much disturbed that it sent a sergeant and four men to take possession of the Wabash River and the Canadian government decided to re-establish the system of issuing twenty-five trading permits a year.¹⁰

⁸ C11A43:328v-329v; C11A44:366-367; C11A124:552, 625v-626; Public Archives of Canada, B45-2:79; *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVI, 399; C11A44:366v-367; C11A56:256; C11A120:184v-185. In the spring of 1722 Vincennes was appointed *enseigne réformé* in Louisiana, after which he worked for both governments. Pierre-Georges Roy, *Le Sieur de Vincennes, Fondateur de l'Indiana et sa Famille* (Quebec, 1919), p. 92n, and *The Sieur de Vincennes Identified* (Indiana Historical Society Publications, VII, No. 1, Indianapolis, 1923), p. 82.

⁹ C11A44:367; C11A46:84v; C11A47:512v; Ivanhoë Caron, "Inventaire des Documents Concernant l'Eglise du Canada," *RAQ*, 1941-1942, pp. 226, 231, 247, 256; Public Archives of Canada, B47:40, B48-1:207; Richard, "Report on Paris Archives," in *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1904, K, 48, 84; Congé au R. P. Guimoneau, le 29 mai 1725, *Registre des Congés, Ordonnances et Arrêts Conservé aux Archives Judiciaires de Montréal*, 11886, typed copy; C11A48:165; Public Archives of Canada, B50-2:345.

¹⁰ Usually taking possession of a region was merely a formal ceremony

In April, 1726, Vincennes was promoted to the rank of *enseigne en second* in Canada. Although he was employed by both colonies, he took his orders from Canada. The Company of the Indies, proprietor of the colony of Louisiana, suggested to the governor of Canada that Vincennes should have the Wea move close to a fort projected for the Lower Wabash. The commandant of the Illinois, which was part of Louisiana, believed that such a station would have to be given to Vincennes because he had more influence over the Miami than did anyone else. He should not be displaced from his position among the Wea if the greatest value were to be drawn from that tribe.¹¹

Three years later the government received a memoir discussing ways to block English expansion. Among other things, the author suggested abandoning the Miami and Wea posts. Supposedly these Indians took most of their furs to the English, probably because of the high prices the French charged for merchandise in their posts. But both stations were actually unnecessary since the Indians could come to Detroit more easily than the French could go to the natives. After all, the

and not a permanent occupation. Under the new trading arrangement the posts were not to be leased, nor could the commandants and officers do any trading. The holders of the permits could carry small quantities of liquor for the Indians only in those areas where the English might contact the natives. The Iroquois were to be persuaded to dislodge the British from Oswego, and the commandants were to induce their charges to plunder any British traders they might encounter. Because of the reports that the Miami and Wea had trafficked with the English on a tributary of the Wabash, Vincennes and the Illinois commandant were instructed to put obstacles in the way of such trade. In time, a modified system prevailed in which some posts were leased while others were exploited by means of *congés*. C13A10:139-139v; C11A48:142v, 317, 443-444v; Richard, "Report on Paris Archives," in *Report on Canadian Archives, 1904*, K, 73; Public Archives of Canada, B49-2:396-404, B50-2:384-385, 388-390.

¹¹In most French thinking of the period, the Wabash was the main stream which flowed into the Mississippi, while the Ohio was its tributary. Roy, *Le Sieur de Vincennes*, pp. 96, 94-99, and *The Sieur de Vincennes Identified*, pp. 86, 87-89; B43:610, 675-677.

pains of the journey cost the savages nothing and under such an arrangement goods could be sold more cheaply. At any rate, the two establishments were unimportant because they produced little beaver. Although the court liked this suggestion, the governor and intendant disapproved for fear the English might convince the Miami and Wea that the French had abandoned them. Furthermore, the British would be sure to replace the French if any such vacancy were to occur. Therefore, the officials thought that the best procedure might be to fortify the posts already occupied rather than weaken them by obliging a nation to go to another station for its necessities. Additional danger might result from assembling different tribes in one place if they did not associate harmoniously. The arguments presented by these officials won the king to their point of view.¹²

In October, 1729, Quebec reported that Vincennes had taken the Wea to the territory of Louisiana and had withdrawn entirely from the government of Canada. In order to compel the fugitives to return to the Miami for their supplies, the governor had at first intended not to permit any voyageurs to go in that direction; but he was induced to allow some Frenchmen to conduct missionaries to the Illinois, and they took along a quantity of goods which they sold in the old post as usual.¹³ Vincennes served at the post which carries his name until his early death at the hands of the Chickasaw in 1736.

During 1732 and 1733 the trader Simon Reaume was act-

¹² C11A51:467-468; C11A56:12, 294-294v, 295v-296; Public Archives of Canada, B54-2:447-449; C11A52:29v-30v; C11A54:216; Richard, "Report on Paris Archives," in *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1904, K, 141-142.

In Indian affairs, after the defeat of the Fox in 1730, in which the Wea participated, attention shifted largely to the south.

¹³ C11A52:30v-31; C11A56:296-296v; *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, XXXIV, 70-71, 86; Roy, *Le Sieur de Vincennes*, pp. 100-101, and *The Sieur de Vincennes Identified*, p. 95; *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVII, 133.

ing as commandant at the Wea post. In August of the former year he gave the Piankashaw chiefs of the Rivière au Vermillon powder and bullets to persuade them to move their village to Ouiatanon.¹⁴ During that same year negotiations were begun to persuade a band of Shawnee to move into the region north of the Ohio. To facilitate these plans, the French consulted with the Huron, Miami, and Wea to gain their reactions to the presence of such neighbors in the Wabash area. Although the Huron objected, when the Wea, who were the closest neighbors of the Shawnee, bore witness to their joy, the matter was considered as settled.¹⁵

The Miami, Wea, and Piankashaw all suffered many deaths in 1733. Although the commandant at the Miami blamed the casualties on a subtle poison which the English had added to four hundred kegs of brandy the Indians had brought from Oswego, it is much more probable that they died from smallpox, which was reported to be raging among them. The deaths were estimated at 150 among the Miami and at 130 among the Wea.¹⁶

An instance of disorder, known as the Ouiatanon war, occurred at the post in 1734. Two young men, a Frenchman and an Indian, had fought, with the white man winning the advantage. The disgruntled Indian aroused his friends, who pillaged the post during the absence of the commandant. When the commandant sent to Detroit for assistance, a force of 120 Frenchmen, 115 Huron, and a large number of Ottawa as-

¹⁴ C11A62:65v; C11A63:134-136. Apparently not all the Wea left with Vincennes, or perhaps some of them had returned.

¹⁵ The movement did not take place for a number of years, however. C11A57:332v-334v, 355-355v; C11A58:222v; C11A60:432; B63:632; Richard, "Report on Paris Archives," in *Report on Canadian Archives, 1904*, K, 159-160, 177; *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVII, 156; Public Archives of Canada, B59-1:219, 327; *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, edited by Edmund B. O'Callaghan (11 volumes. 1856-87), IX, 1033, 1035.

¹⁶ C11A57:348-350; C11A59:4-5, 19-19v, 37-37v; C11A60:439-439v, 444v-446; *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, XXXIV, 108-109.

sembled under the leadership of the commandant of the Miami, who happened to be at Detroit; when the expedition reached the Miami post, it totaled 324. As it was preparing to proceed, word came that the commandant at the Wea had smoked the peace pipe, the young men had given back the stolen goods, and all was quiet. Thereupon the expedition was disbanded. From the French viewpoint, this prompt punitive action left a good impression upon the natives, whom it filled with dread.¹⁷

During the winter of 1734-35 a French expedition to punish the Sac and Fox tribes passed through the Wea country on its way west. When it reached the post, the commander went to see the Kickapoo, who lived six leagues away, to ask where the Fox could be found. Some of the members of that tribe agreed to act as guides. Apparently the Kickapoo were recent arrivals, for according to Governor Jean Baptiste le Moyne de Bienville, governor of Louisiana, they and the Mascouten moved to the Miami country about this time.¹⁸

A new commandant, Louis Godfroy de Normanville, was assigned to the Wea post in 1735. He ceded the exclusive trade of his post to François Augé and René Bissonet for 2,500£ a year. They agreed to furnish him with three barrels of brandy, four of wine, one of powder, and fifty pounds of tobacco.¹⁹

The year after the death of the younger Vincennes, on a campaign against the Chickasaw in 1736, his successor reported that almost all the Piankashaw had left his post, which was consequently in danger. As a result Bienville wanted to

¹⁷ So at least the official reports said. Public Archives of Canada, B63-1:51, B64-3:618v-619; C11A61:91-92, 292v-294; C11A62:6v ff; C11A63:145-148; C11A65:49v-51v; C11A74:147; *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVII, 211-212.

¹⁸ C11A61:87-89v; C11A63:263 ff; C13A18:146v-148, 227v-228; C13A-20:87-89; Kellogg, *The French Régime*, pp. 333-335; Public Archives of Canada, B64-3:616; *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVII, 216-233, 256-257; C13A22:103v.

¹⁹ Photostat of original in Chicago Historical Society.

move it to the mouth of the river and at the same time to persuade the Kickapoo and Mascouten to move there, since they did not get along with the Miami. His only fear was that the Canadian officer commanding at the Wea post would oppose their departure on the ground that they belonged to his department.²⁰

According to Bienville, one of the reasons which had detached the Indians of the lake region from the French and turned them toward the English was the custom of leasing the trade of a nation to the highest bidder. In turn these merchants gave the necessary goods to those who went to command in the posts. For instance, Detroit was leased for 9,000£ and Ouiatanon for a thousand crowns. Therefore the commandants were forced to become traders, earning first from the sale of the merchandise the price of the lease; consequently, they could not sell to the Indians cheaply. On the other hand, the English gave the Indians a better bargain, so that the natives naturally preferred the British to the French.

Bienville also complained that the commandants of the leased posts paid no attention to the passports which he issued to traders. They prevented such traders from dealing with the nations in their departments, which extended almost to the Illinois, unless the traders bought their merchandise from the commandants. The traders, however, were reluctant to do so because they could get goods cheaper in Illinois. As a case in point, the commandant at the Wea post had refused to allow such a trader to pass through to Detroit unless he bought trade articles at the Wea post. Consequently, the trader had to return to Louisiana.²¹

Late in the 1730's many tribes were restless. Trouble involving the famous Nicholas and his band of Huron broke out at Detroit, and in 1739 the Wea commandant was forced to give almost 450£ in presents to keep them from abandoning

²⁰ C13A22:103-103v, 192-193; B65:530v; B66:319v.

²¹ C13A22:104v-106.

their village.²² The following summer Henri Albert de St. Vincent *fils* became the new commandant at the Wea post. After his arrival, he and Charles François La Pérade, at the Miami, had to settle the affair of La Peau Blanche, a Wea who had killed a Miami when the latter was returning from the English. The victim's tribe wanted to fall upon the Wea to avenge the insult. La Pérade could stop them only by pledging to turn over the murderer for any punishment they might wish to inflict. Then he set out with five Frenchmen for the Wea post to bring back La Peau Blanche. The affair was finally settled by gifts to the Miami from the Wea commandant.²³

In the meantime, part of the Shawnee seemed on the verge of moving to the Prairie of the Mascouten, twenty leagues from the Piankashaw. The governor of Canada reasoned that it would be advantageous for them to be near the Wea, one of the most turbulent tribes, in order to restrain the latter, as the Kickapoo and Mascouten were already doing. Furthermore, at the Wea they would lose the custom of trading with the British.²⁴ Late in April, 1741, eight cabins of Mascouten came to the Wea to settle with a chief who was already there. They were afraid of the Fox, who were with the Sioux on the Wisconsin.²⁵

²² *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVII, 279, 288-289; *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, XXXIV, 148, 150-151, 151-155, 156, and *passim*; C11A74:141-141v. In October a new commandant was sent to the Wea post, but he died there just after he arrived. Rumor said that he had been killed by a gunshot of a voyageur. C11A74:124-124v, 195v-196. Apparently the Wea did not play a significant part in the expedition against the Chickasaw in 1739-1740.

²³ C11A75:90; C11A78:288, 295; C11A114:383v-384; C13A26:190-191; Public Archives of Canada, F3, 24-4:743; C11A76:184v, 211; C11A78:288-288v, 295.

²⁴ The court later approved his plans. C11A75:128-129; C11A78:389v; Public Archives of Canada, B74-2:280-281; Richard, "Report on Paris Archives," *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1904, K, 304; *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, XXXIV, 207-208.

²⁵ C11A76:263; *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVII, 336.

A peculiar episode occurred in the Miami country in June, 1742. On the ninth, twenty Miami of the Tippecanoe village²⁶ and three Potawatomi of the St. Joseph returned from war on the Chickasaw with two Frenchmen who had escaped from the southern nation. Instead of coming to the Wea fort, the Indians stopped at the village, where they put slave collars on the prisoners and made them dance. When the commandant investigated, he got no satisfactory reason for the treatment and consequently cut the bonds of the white men. But when he wanted to take them away, the chiefs begged for a little time, after which they would come to him. St. Vincent granted their request because the interpreter pointed out that the use of violence could result in some accident. Six chiefs brought one prisoner the next day, with a message that the second would be returned to Jacques le Gardeur de St. Pierre at the Miami post. To this suggestion St. Vincent consented on condition that the Frenchman would not be abused. Later when he reached the Miami post with the prisoner he had rescued, he found the second already there. St. Pierre had scolded the Indians so severely for their conduct that no member of the war party dared come before him.²⁷

At Montreal that summer the Oujatanon requested that their post be put on the license system, like Detroit, so that everybody could trade there. At the same time the Kickapoo asked for permission to leave the Wea to settle on the Prairie of the Mascouten; they also wanted a chief, a blacksmith, and a Frenchman to bring them what they needed. The Petikokia and Mascouten had no specific requests, but one of the Mascouten chiefs reported that some Winnebago had asked him for refuge because they could no longer live with

²⁶ This village was an offshoot of the Miami of the Maumee and was under the jurisdiction of that post. It was located fifteen or twenty leagues away. C11A95:379v.

²⁷ C13E16:263-264; Public Archives of Canada, B76-1:281-282; C13A-28:33v; C11A79:114-114v.

the Fox. The governor replied that he needed to know how their villages were to be arranged before he could send the commandant they requested. In the meantime, he would dispatch several traders so they would have a cheap market. The governor gave permission to the Kickapoo to move to the Mascouten Prairie and promised a chief, a blacksmith, and Frenchmen to supply their needs as soon as their fire was well lighted.²⁸

Included in the king's instructions of spring, 1742, were orders to auction the trade of the Miami and Ouiatanon posts in 1743. The governor was of course in an embarrassing position because he had promised the Wea that he would put their post on the permit system. How could he keep his word and yet carry out the king's instructions? The governor feared the tribe would go to the English when they learned of the change in plans, which would of course raise the price of all goods.²⁹

When the trade of the Wea post was auctioned in March, 1743, it brought 3,000£. To fulfill his promises of cheaper goods, the governor ordered the lessees of the posts to establish several places where merchandise would be sold at different prices so that the Indians would be able to find bargains in one of them.³⁰

The outbreak of hostilities between France and England in October, 1743, naturally had repercussions in the New World, where the conflict was known as King George's War. First, it caused a considerable increase in the price of food

²⁸ C11A77:83-83v, 104-104v, 181-189v; *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVII, 380-387. This may be the earliest official use of the word *fort* in connection with Ouiatanon.

²⁹ C11A77:94-96v; C11A78:378-384; Public Archives of Canada, B74-2:286-288, 434-436; Richard, "Report on Paris Archives," in *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1904, K, 304, 307; *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVII, 409-412.

³⁰ C11A79:97, 144v-145v, 224; Public Archives of Canada, B76-1:391-396, B78-1:152-153; Richard, "Report on Paris Archives," in *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1905, I, Part VI, 12-13; C11A115:33v.

and merchandise, and the colony was very short of goods between 1744 and 1748, at a time when they were badly needed to retain the loyalty of the western Indians. Second, it resulted in an increased use of raiding parties. The Detroit nations, the Miami, and the Wea all agreed to strike the English on the Ohio or the Rivière Blanche in the winter of 1744-45.³¹ Soon the governor was complaining that because of war conditions much less merchandise had been sent to the posts than previously. The Indians were discouraged by the small quantities, high prices, and low returns for their furs. Licenses, which were offered free, went begging for takers. The governor feared the lessees would not be able to continue at their posts in the following year; however, he could at last report that a band of Shawnee had moved to the Prairie of the Mascouten.³²

This migration also aroused the interest of the governor of Louisiana, who wanted the Shawnee to stop on the Wabash. Because they had promised the governor of Canada to move to Terre Haute, the governor of Louisiana reasoned that very likely they could come to the Wabash for their winter hunting. Meanwhile, the Illinois commandant hoped to persuade them to join the Kickapoo and Mascouten, who had promised to discuss in the autumn the plan of settling near the proposed Wabash fort. If the projects could be managed, these nations would protect the region from the incursions of the Cherokee and Chickasaw.³³

An account of 1746 written from Louisiana stated that the Ouiatanon could put about six hundred warriors in the field; they were supposed to be very much attached to the

³¹ C11A18:134v-135v; C11A81:126-126v, 144v-145; *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, IX, 1105-1106.

³² C11A83:42-44v, 92-92v, 104v-107v, 257v-258; C11A85:232-232v; *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVII, 448-449; *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, X, 20-21.

³³ C13A29:65-69, 89v-90v; C13A30:28-32, 71-75v; B83:313-313v. They remained only until about 1748. C13A32:63-68, 103.

French.³⁴ At the post the lessee was allowed to remain for another year free of charge in order to keep the Indians in French interests until times changed.³⁵

In the upper country all other events of 1747 were overshadowed by an Indian revolt. The government later admitted that lack of goods was the principal cause of the unrest, but the English came in for their share of the blame.³⁶ La Pérade, who had started for Montreal with the Wabash nations, learned of the disorders while he was still on the River of the Miami. He sent his Indians back to their village,³⁷ where they apparently remained peaceful, although the Miami of the Maumee pillaged their own fort. Later the French yielded to the solicitation of the rebels and sent a force to reoccupy the post for the winter. Along with the commandant, Louis-Jacques-Charles Renault Dubuisson, went forty others destined for the Wea trade with orders to return to Detroit in the spring. The governor reasoned that since Frenchmen, including some families, were still living at the Wea post, it would not be necessary to abandon areas where there were no disturbances but where disorder might arise from lack of aid. Furthermore, since he had previously agreed to send traders to the Kickapoo, Mascouten, Winnebago, and Wea, he could not break his word to these nations which had kept theirs to him.

Further plans for 1748 called for Dubuisson to return to

³⁴ C13A30:268-269.

³⁵ C11A85:19; *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVII, 450-451.

³⁶ George Croghan and Conrad Weiser were both working in the Ohio Valley at this time. For the complete story of the revolt of 1747-48, see C11A87:16 ff, 22 ff, 176 ff, 260-261; C11A89:225-228; C11A91:231-233v; C13A31:98v-101; C11A92:114-114v, 170v-171; *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, X, 83-88, 118-120, 129-130, 137-143, 145, 148-149, 150-151, 156-157, 161-163, 167-168, 169, 178, 179, 181-185, 220; *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVII, 456-469, 474-477, 478-492, 505-512; Theodore C. Pease and Ernestine Jenison (eds.), *Illinois on the Eve of the Seven Years' War, 1747-1755* (Springfield, 1940), pp. 32-33, 42-47, and *passim*.

³⁷ C11A87:175.

the Miami, together with a considerable detachment under Charles François Xavier Tarieu de la Pérade de la Naudière, who was to go to the Wabash nations if necessary. These last were described as bad Indians who had remained faithful up to that time, although a few had been won over by the English. La Naudière's instructions were to spend the winter with his garrison in the Wabash country to re-establish the posts and maintain the nations.³⁸

In the years that followed the Miami revolt of 1747, there were many suspicions of Wea loyalty, apparently with some reason.³⁹ By 1749 a permanent commandant had been selected for Detroit, which was thereafter to have authority over the Miami, La Rivière Blanche, Ouiatanon, and the Wabash nations. No permits were issued for the Wea post in that year because the habitants of Detroit could go there on licenses delivered by their own commandant.⁴⁰

Again in 1751 the governor of Louisiana wrote to the governor of Canada that the Mascouten were planning to leave the vicinity of the Wea post. The former wanted to settle the tribe near the Piankashaw post, where they could be very useful, but the governor of Canada refused to persuade them to move; in his opinion, it was very important to keep the Kickapoo and Mascouten in their village near the Wea, less because of the prejudice which their absence would have on the trade of that post than because these two nations, which were closely attached to the French, ought to be kept where they were under present circumstances.⁴¹ Plans were made

³⁸ C11A87:190-191v; *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVII, 506.

³⁹ For instance, see C11A95:375-377v, 386v-390v, 391v-393v, 394-396; C13A36:66-68v; Pease and Jenison (eds.), *Illinois on the Eve of the Seven Years' War*, *passim*; Reuben Gold Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846* (32 volumes. Cleveland, 1904-7), I, 90-92.

⁴⁰ C11A91:130-132; C11A93:32-32v; C11A96:230-230v; *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVII, 499-501, XVIII, 30-32; C11A116:152.

⁴¹ C11A97:94v-95; Pease and Jenison (eds.), *Illinois on the Eve of the Seven Years' War*, pp. 376-377. Later, in 1752, St. Ange wrote from Vincennes that his plans to move the Kickapoo from Terre Haute to his

to send reinforcements to the posts, and there is a record of an officer, Leborgne, leaving Montreal in April to escort a garrison to Ouiatanon.⁴²

Late in October François-Marie le Marchand de Ligneris reported from the Wea post that they and the Piankashaw seemed for the most part badly disposed and would probably soon go over to the English if the French delayed in seizing the Ohio River posts. The next year he commented that the Wea on the surface seemed to be irritated by a Piankashaw attack on the French but privately they belied this attitude. The Kickapoo and Mascouten appeared more attached, but they would support whoever gave them most.⁴³

After the French attack in June, 1752, on Pickawillany, a center of rebel Miami as well as British influence on the Great Miami, the situation gradually improved. Thereafter the errant Wea abandoned the English to return to the French, although there was still some unrest among the Piankashaw. Ligneris had succeeded in keeping one band of Wea with him all summer, but the greater part had followed the Piankashaw to Pickawillany. By dint of many messages and the assistance of the Potawatomi of St. Joseph, he finally succeeded in bringing the fugitives back about the end of August and the first part of September.⁴⁴

Once hostilities of the French and Indian War broke out between the English and the French, the attention of the government was shifted to the east and information about the western regions becomes scarce. Early in 1755 the commandant of the Wea post reported that his tribe was ready

fort had failed; Ligneris had persuaded them to move near the Wea post. Pease and Jenison (eds.), *Illinois on the Eve of the Seven Years' War*, p. 485.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 291-292; C11A119:312.

⁴³ Pease and Jenison (eds.), *Illinois on the Eve of the Seven Years' War*, pp. 414-417, 535.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 654-681 (especially 678), 730-734. Ligneris thought the raid on Pickawillany was of little account.

to attack the English and the next summer a force of 250 Miami and Ouiatanon was present at Ft. Duquesne. They participated in a raid in which they killed or captured about three hundred persons. Other war parties took part in hostilities of later years.⁴⁵

After the British conquest of Quebec, Montreal, and other French positions, the Wea post was included in the capitulation of Canada. When the British took stock of their new acquisition, several censuses were recorded. In one account the Miami numbered 230, the Wea 200, the Kickapoo 180, the Mascouten 90, and the Piankashaw 100. Another estimate of 1764 listed the Miami at 350, the Kickapoo at 300, the Ouiatanon at 400, the Piankashaw at 250; in 1765 George Croghan estimated the Miami strength at 250, the Wea at 300, and the Piankashaw at 300. Croghan also reported that about fourteen families were living at the Wea post.⁴⁶

The British did not take over the post until late in 1761, for Lt. Edward Jenkins did not leave Detroit for his assignment until November 5 of that year. At his arrival he was forced to give presents to the tribes before he could assume charge.⁴⁷

With his appearance, the problems of the Wabash post became those of the English. A new era began, marked by the Indian uprising of 1763, when the garrison at Ouiatanon

⁴⁵ Joseph-Gaspard de Léry, "Journal de Joseph-Gaspard de Léry, Lieutenant des Troupes, 1754-1755," in *RAQ*, 1927-1928, pp. 399, 401, 413; C11A101:353, 358-358v; *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVIII, 163; "Bougainville Journal," *RAQ*, 1923-1924, pp. 272, 295; François Gaston de Lévis, *Collection des Manuscrits du Maréchal de Lévis* (12 volumes. Montreal, 1889-95), I, 91, VII, 276; C11A103:224-226; C11A114:13-16v. The French and Indian War was the North American phase of the global conflict known as the Seven Years' War.

⁴⁶ *The Papers of Sir William Johnson* (Albany, 1921-), X, 544-45; *An Historical Account of the Expedition against the Ohio Indians in the Year MDCCLXIV Under the Command of Henry Bouquet, Esq.* (Philadelphia, 1766), pp. 69-70; Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, I, 144, 168.

⁴⁷ *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, XIX, 118, 162.

experienced much better treatment than did many others on the frontier, and ending eventually in the disappearance of the Indians.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Unlike Vincennes, Ouiatanon did not become a permanent white settlement. An unidentified traveler descending the Wabash in or about 1774 located the fort on the right bank of the river, about seventy yards inland. The Kickapoo were living around the fort while the Wea were on the opposite side of the river. He estimated that there were a thousand Indians able to bear arms in the two villages. Lieutenant Governor Edward Abbott, who stopped there on his way to Vincennes in 1777, estimated a like number. Jacob P. Dunn, *Documents Relating to French Settlements on the Wabash* (Indiana Historical Society Publications, II, No. 11, Indianapolis, 1894), pp. 436, 440.

In 1778 Lieutenant Governor Henry Hamilton on his passage from Detroit to Vincennes described the fort "as a miserable stockade surrounding a dozen miserable cabins, called houses. The Indians hereabouts are numerous, there appear 96 of their cabins, which allowing five men to a house make the number 480.

"The French settlers are few and as inconsiderable as debauchery and idleness can make them." Hamilton to Haldimand, December 4, 1778, in *Illinois Historical Collections*, I, 220-21. In his diary under date of November 30, 1778, Hamilton recorded: "Went to the Fort which is formed of a double range of houses enclosed with a Stockade 10 feet high, and a very poorly defensive against small arms. The Indian Cabins of this settlement are about 90, the families may be estimated at 10 to a cabin. . . ." *Henry Hamilton and George Rogers Clark in the American Revolution with the Unpublished Journal of Lieut. Gov. Henry Hamilton*, edited by John D. Barnhart (Crawfordsville, Indiana, 1951), pp. 133-134.

The last eye-witness account is that of Brig. Gen. Charles Scott of Kentucky, who in 1791 attacked the Wea towns: "Many of the inhabitants of this village were French, and lived in a state of civilization; by the books, letters, and other documents, found there, it is evident that place was in close connexion with, and dependent on, Detroit: a large quantity of corn, a variety of household goods, peltry, and others articles, were burned with this village, which consisted of about seventy houses, many of them well finished." *American State Papers, Indian Affairs* (2 volumes. Washington, D.C., 1832-34), I, 131; John B. Dillon, *A History of Indiana* (Indianapolis, 1859), 261, 264.

The post and Indian villages and fields were burned by Scott's order on June 4. When Brig. Gen. James Wilkinson came through the area the following fall, he again destroyed the crops in the fields, which had been replanted. "The Ouiatenons, left without houses, home, or provisions, must cease to war, and will find active employ to subsist their squaws and children during the impending winter." *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 135.

About 1895 Dr. Richard B. Wetherill, Jacob P. Dunn, and B. Wilson Smith concluded that the post had been located west of Lafayette near old Sand Ridge Church on the north side of the Wabash opposite the mouth of Wea Creek. In 1928, Dr. Wetherill purchased the site and secured the construction of a log blockhouse built in the architectural style of the eighteenth-century frontier. The site was presented by Dr. Wetherill to Tippecanoe County for the use of the Tippecanoe County Historical Association. Meantime, controversy about the location of the post has continued. Some argue that the post would have been built on higher ground than the site determined by these gentlemen. Perhaps future archaeological investigation will definitely establish the location of the post and the neighboring Wea villages.—Ed.

DOCUMENTS

No. 1. M. de Vaudreuil,¹ Quebec, November 11, 1717²

I have designated the Sieur³ Dubuisson,⁴ captain, to go as commander-in-chief in the post of the Ouiatanon, where I have already sent the Sieur de Bellestre,⁵ ensign. I will have the Sieur Dubuisson leave next spring to go there in the summer. Of all the officers, he is the one who seemed to me to be most capable of occupying this post, which is the most advanced toward the English.

He commanded at the fort of Detroit and he distinguished himself there in a fight against the Fox, in which he destroyed more than a thousand souls. I very humbly ask the Council to procure for him also a Cross of St. Louis,⁶ which seems to me to be necessary for him to give him more prominence in the post where he is going to command.

[Signed] VAUDREUIL

¹ Philippe de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil (b. 1640), was governor and lieutenant general of New France from 1703 until his death in 1725. "Le Marquis Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil," in *Rapport de l'archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1938-1939*, pp. 10-11.

² C11A38:164

³ This term was used in speaking of gentlemen. Although its translation into English is awkward, it has been retained because in some instances deletion would have created even greater awkwardness.

⁴ Charles Renaud Dubuisson (1664-1739). In 1712 he defended Detroit when it was besieged by the Fox; in 1717 he was ordered to command the Wea post, but did not reach there until 1721. *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, XXXIV, 307-8; *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, V, 118.

⁵ François Picoté de Belestre (Bellestre), 1677-1729, father of Marie-François Picoté de Belestre (b. 1719), who was in command at Detroit when Montreal capitulated to the English. *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, XXXIII, 749, XXXIV, 336-40.

⁶ The Order of St. Louis was established by Louis XIV in 1693 to reward distinguished army and naval officers.

No. 2. M. the Marquis de Vaudreuil, December 12, 1717⁷

* * * * *

[In margin: They are settled on the Wabash River toward the English.] Because the Ouiatanon are too close to the English of Carolina and exposed to their practices, and the latter spare neither solicitations nor presents to detach these savages from our interests and to attract them to their side, he [Vaudeuil] had contemplated sending a captain, a subaltern, a sergeant, and ten soldiers among them to establish a post there to disrupt these practices and to keep them at peace with the Illinois. But since the region where they are at present is too far from the colony to take there easily what is necessary to support a post and a garrison, he believed that it was more appropriate to begin by urging them to return to Chicago or else to the upper Kankakee, where they formerly lived and where they would no longer be tempted to have connections with the English.

From this viewpoint and in order to satisfy the eagerness of this nation, which for a long time has been asking for an officer to govern them, a missionary to instruct them, and a blacksmith, he sent them the Sieur de Bellestre, ensign, with four soldiers and three other Frenchmen whom he permitted him to take, and the Sieur de Sabrevois⁸ sent a blacksmith from Detroit. Because this nation two years ago lost two chiefs, who died at Detroit, he had some goods of the king delivered to the said Sieur de Bellestre to cover these dead men. He also had other goods delivered to him to give to this nation, or rather to its chiefs, to urge them to work effectively so that it might leave the country where it is.

⁷ C11A23:46v-48. This document, written in the third person, is apparently a summary of a longer report by the governor to the French court. This type of document will recur later.

⁸ Jacques-Charles de Sabrevois de Bleury (ca. 1665-1727), commandant of Detroit from 1715 to 1717. Claude de Bonnault, "Le Canada militaire, état provisoire des officiers de milice de 1641 à 1760," in *Rapport de l'archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1949-1950 et 1950-1951*, p. 278.

He also wrote to the *Sieur de Vincennes*⁹ to act on his part, for although he is among the Miami eighty leagues¹⁰ this side of the Ouiatanon, since he often communicates with the latter and since he has as much influence among them as among the Miami, he can do much for the success of this business.

By the speeches which the *Sieur de Bellestre* is to carry on his part to the Ouiatanon, he is to make known the necessity for their approaching the lakes, so that a missionary can be sent to them.

Whether they decide to go to Chicago or remain where they are, he is determined to send next spring a captain capable of governing them, because the savages have much more respect for an officer of this rank than they have for a subordinate; furthermore it is necessary to have officers in each post because of their distance, for if one should happen to be absent, the other could supply the deficiency.

* * * * *

*No. 3. Memoir on the Savages of Canada up to the Mississippi River, Containing the Customs and the Trade of these Savages [1718]*¹¹

* * * * *

This river Wabash is the one on which the Ouiatanon are settled. They are five villages, and what concerns all of them one calls Ouiatanon; another, Peanguichias; another, the Peticotias, and one the Gros; I do not remember the last, but they are all Ouiatanon, who speak like the Miami and are their

⁹ Jean Baptiste Bissot de Vincennes, born 1668, died among the Miami in 1719. He was the father of François Marie Bissot de Vincennes. Pierre-Georges Roy, *The Sieur de Vincennes Identified* (Indiana Historical Society Publications, VII, No. 1, Indianapolis, 1923).

¹⁰ A league was a measure of distance which varied from place to place.

¹¹ C11A39:361v. This memoir is sometimes attributed to Sabrevois. It may have been written from the reports of voyageurs and soldiers rather than from his own experience. The complete document appears in translation in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVI, 363-376.

brothers, and properly so, for all have the same manner and the same dress. They number about 1,000 or 1,200 men. They have a custom that all the other nations do not have, which is to keep their fort very clean, not allowing a single plant. The entire fort is sanded as is the Tuileries, and if a dog defecates within the fort, the women take the excrement and carry it outside. Their village is situated on a great elevation and has more than two leagues of open ground where they raise their maize, gourds, and melons. And from this elevation as far as one can see there are only prairies which are filled with buffalo.¹² They play and dance by the hour without end. All these nations use a very great quantity of vermilion. The women are clothed, but the men [wear] very little.

* * * * *

N. 4. Recognizance of Pierre Comme, called Lajeunesse, and Claude Legris to Pierre de Lestage, May 25, 1718¹³

In the presence of, etc., were present Pierre Comme, called Lajeunesse, and Claude Legris de Lespine, voyageurs at present in this town, who have voluntarily owned and acknowledged to owe jointly and severally to the Sieur Pierre de Lestage, merchant of this town, by these presents and accepting the sum of fifteen hundred ninety-eight livres, sixteen sols, three deniers of the country, which is equal to eleven hundred ninety-nine livres, two sols, three deniers of France, for merchandise sold and delivered by the said creditor to said debtors for their equipment for a voyage which they are going to make to the Ouiatanon, with which they have said they are satisfied and have promised jointly and severally, without security, renouncing said reservations to give and pay the said sum of eleven hundred ninety-nine livres, two sols, three deniers of France to

¹² The word used is *boeuf*.

¹³ Obligation par Pierre Comme dit Lajeunesse et Claude Legris à Pierre de Lestage, 25^e May, 1718, Etude Pierre Rimbault, N. R., Archives Judiciaires de Montréal, 2310, typed copy. The official receipt for payment was recorded on July 17, 1720.

the said creditor in his residence in this town or to the bearer, etc., in the month of August of next year, or sooner if their goods or they come down, in beaver and furs at the price at which the merchant equippers will take them and at the choice of the said creditor, under penalty, etc., under obligation and for the execution, etc., have chosen their residence in this town in the house of the late Maillou, Rue Outaouese, to which place, etc., notwithstanding, promising, acknowledging, and renouncing, etc. Done and passed at said Villemarie [at Montreal], office of said notary, in the year one thousand seven hundred eighteen, the twenty-sixth of May, in the afternoon, in the presence of said Sieur Ignace Gamelin and Simon Reaume, merchants, witnesses, residents of said Villemarie, and have signed with the exception of the said Lajeunesse who, when called upon, declared that he did not know how to sign.

CLAUDE LE PINE
SIMON REAUME

GAMELIN
P. RAIMBAULT

No. 5. List of permits granted in 1717 by M. the Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor and lieutenant general for the King in all New France, certified by M. Begon, intendant¹⁴ of the said country, to go trade with the savages of the posts established in the upper country, and of the use of said permits by those to whom they were granted, to wit:¹⁵

* * * * *

For the Ouiatanon

1. Permit granted to the widow de Villeraï and to the Sieur L'Espinat, habitant of Beauport, and sold to Pierre Cosmes of Montreal and Claude L'Espine of Quebec, who left in a canoe of four men, including themselves, at the end of last May.

1. Ditto of August 18, 1717, to the Sieurs Douville and La

¹⁴ Michel Bégon, VI, 1664-1747, intendant of New France, 1712-25. The intendant was the officer in charge of administrative business; he had wide jurisdiction over judicial, financial, police, seignorial, and trade matters.

¹⁵ C11A38:86v-87.

Chauvignerie. Sold to Joseph Larche of Quebec and Jacques Monboeuf of Montreal, who left at the end of May.

1. Ditto to the demoiselles de Cabanac and to the Sieur Monplaisir, habitant of Champlain and major of the militia of the government of Three Rivers, sold to Estienne Roy of Montreal, who left June 1, 1718, in a canoe of three men, including himself.

1. Ditto to Michel Perrot, habitant of Becancour, who has not yet validated it nor gotten rid of it.

For the Ouiatanon, 4 permits

* * * * *

No. 6. M. Vaudreuil, Quebec, October 28, 1719¹⁶

* * * * *

Furthermore it seems to me to be very necessary for the Sieur Dubuisson to continue to serve in this country, since he is more capable than any other officer of governing the Ouiatanon and the Miami, who know and esteem him and among whom he is held in high repute since the defeat of the Fox at Detroit, where he was commanding in the absence of the Sieur de la Forest and where the Miami and the Ouiatanon came to trade, their village at that time being not very far from this post. These two nations have not yet made any move to go, one to the Rivière St. Joseph, the other to the Kankakee. They promised me by speeches which I received from them last summer that they would not fail to go there this autumn, but they have changed their sentiment since then, for I learn by the last letters which came to me from the Miami that, since the Sieur de Vincennes died in their village, these savages had resolved not to go to the Rivière St. Joseph but to remain where they are.

¹⁶ C11A40:184v-186v.

Since this resolution is very dangerous because of the ease which they will have in that location to communicate with the English, who do not cease to have belts to attract them slipped secretly among all the nations by means of certain Iroquois couriers and others whom they have in their employ, I have designated the *Sieur Dubuisson* to command at the post of the *Ouiatanon*, and on his way to use his influence among the *Miami* either to persuade this nation to go to the *Rivière St. Joseph*, or else to remain where it is settled at present, if it does not wish to leave, in order to impede the effect of all these belts which it receives all too often and which, since they caused eight or ten canoes of *Miami* to go trade at *Albany* this summer, might at last persuade the entire nation to follow their example.

To prevent these belts from being effective, a commandant must have much vigilance to discover them; and when he has discovered them, he needs much artfulness to render them useless. The *Sieur Dubuisson* has everything that is necessary for this purpose, and there are no other officers as capable as he to manage these nations and to reduce them to what one wishes from them. It will always be easier for him to succeed than for anyone else because of his disinterestedness, his liberality, and his firmness in cases which demand it. I beg the council to pay attention to this.

* * * * *

*No. 7. Extract of the Memoir of M. the Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor and lieutenant general for the King in New France, to serve as instructions for the *Sieur Dumont*, half-pay ensign in the troops maintained in Canada, detached until further orders to go command in the country of the *Ouiatanon* and at the *Rivière des Miamis*, August 26, 1720¹⁷*

The said *Sieur Dumont* will be careful to execute what is

¹⁷ C11A42:158-160v.

prescribed to him by the commission which I have dispatched to him this day.

Since the canoes which are ready to leave with the permits for the Ouiatanon and the Miami must go to Detroit in convoy under the command of the said *Sieur Dumont*, during the journey he is to watch the said canoes so that they travel together and that none strays or stops en route.

When they have arrived at Detroit, he will go to greet *M. de Tonti*¹⁸ and hand him the letters which I am writing him; and since I am advising the said *Sieur de Tonti* that the voyageurs who have permits, as well as those who are taking the canoe which I have granted the *Sieur de Vincennes*, must stop at Detroit to remain there with their merchandise, and likewise that the *Sieur Dumont* and the *Sieur Reaume*, who is accompanying him to aid him in the dealings which he will have in trading with the savages, are obliged to leave there what they are taking with them until they can learn whether or not the Miami and the Ouiatanon will move their villages, he will agree with the said *Sieur de Tonti* upon the places where all this merchandise can be stored so that it will be safe and the owners cannot trade at Detroit.

When this has been done, he will hurry to the village of the Miami with his canoe and that of the *Sieur Reaume*, in which he may carry only the goods of the king designated as presents with little other merchandise and only what will be necessary to supply their needs.

And in order that the said *Sieur Dumont* can hurry even more in going to the Miami and be in a better position to have my orders executed, besides the ten men who with the *Sieur Reaume* compose the crew of their two canoes, he may take, in addition, an employee of each of the other four canoes to take along with him if he judges that this increase of men might be necessary to curb the Frenchmen at the Miami who might re-

¹⁸ Alphonse de Tonti or Tonty, appointed to command at Detroit in 1717, succeeding Sabrevois. He was relieved of the post in 1727. *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, XXXIV, 313-316.

fuse to obey, for the said Sieur Dumont is the bearer of an order by which Pierre Roy¹⁹ is enjoined to leave the Miami with his wife, his children, and the property which he may have there to go spend the winter at Detroit and to return to the colony next spring with his wife and children. He will not fail to give this order to the said Roy as soon as he arrives in the village and to see to it that he obeys without delay.

He will take the same care to have executed another order by which all the other Frenchmen who are at the village of the Miami except the blacksmith are also enjoined to leave without delay and to withdraw to Detroit.

To prevent the trouble which this expulsion of the French might cause among the savages, it will be fitting that the said Sieur Dumont first make them understand that it is being done by my order so that I can be assured that what they reply to what he has to say to them for me will not have been suggested by any Frenchmen.

At his arrival in the village of the Miami, if the Sieur de Vincennes²⁰ is not there and if he is at the Ouiatanon, he will summon him to come join him, together with LaDouceur, his interpreter.

After the departure of the French who must leave the Miami, the said Sieur Dumont will have this nation assembled and will speak to it for me in reply to the message which it sent me this year. He will join to this response the present which is to accompany it and will keep the large present to give only when he will see this nation ready to settle at the Rivière St. Joseph, to which course he will pledge it as soon as possible.

¹⁹ A Pierre Roy had married a Miami woman in 1703. Two of their sons were active among the Miami in the 1740's and 1750's. *Illinois Historical Collections*, XXIX, xxxn. In 1733 a Pierre Roy formed a company with the commandant at the Miami for the trade of the post. The original agreement is in the Chicago Historical Society Library.

²⁰ This was François Marie Bissot de Vincennes, the founder of Post Vincennes. He had gone to the Wea post in 1718. He was burned to death by the Chickasaw in 1736. See Roy, *The Sieur de Vincennes Identified*.

Then he will go to the village of the Ouiatanon to learn if they are disposed to go to the Kankakee, and he will do all that he can to persuade them to take this step.

If the said Sieur Dumont finds these two nations resolved not to abandon the locations where they are making their home, he will send to Detroit for the merchandise which he and the Sieur Reaume left there and will advise the voyageurs who have the right to trade at the Miami and Ouiatanon to go there to do so; and if these two nations decide to move their villages, he will advise these voyageurs by sending them the employees whom they furnished so that they can leave Detroit in good time to proceed next spring to Rivière St. Joseph, from whence those who have their permits for the Ouiatanon will proceed to the Kankakee.

No. 8. M. de Vaudreuil, Quebec, October 22, 1720²¹

* * * * *

According to the advice which I have received from the Rivière St. Joseph and from the post of the Ouiatanon, about forty or fifty savages of this nation have gone to the Kankakee and we may hope that the remainder may follow this autumn. Nevertheless, there is reason to fear that the Piankashaw, who are more numerous than all the others, will decide to remain where they are because they are solicited by Canadians withdrawn to Kaskaskia, who have given them to understand that they will take care to bring merchandise; and that the officer who commands in the country of the Illinois, claiming that they are subordinate to his command, was on the point of having it occupied by an officer with a garrison. From my point of view, this would not at all suit the well being of this colony, nor the union which ought to exist between the Ouiatanon and the Miami, which are one and the same nation divided into two bodies, separated by the jealousy of some

²¹ C11A42:166v-169. This document is given in full in translation in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVI, 392-395.

chiefs who formerly governed it; besides, this nation has never been included in the country of the Illinois of Louisiana.

A party of about a hundred Miami men went to settle at Rivière St. Joseph, where still others are awaited; nevertheless, the greatest number of the savages of this nation continue to remain in the locality of its ordinary home and appear not at all inclined to go to the Rivière St. Joseph. Some of their chiefs who have great dealings with the English and the Iroquois, seeing that I have withdrawn all the Frenchmen who were in their village, from that act seized the occasion to insinuate to them [the Miami] that I wished to abandon them and that therefore it was necessary that they decide to go settle behind the country of the Iroquois in a location where the English might wish to attract them. After I had been informed of the intrigues of these chiefs and of the trouble in which this nation found itself because of the withdrawal of the French, last August I had the *Sieur Dumont*, half-pay ensign, leave Montreal accompanied by the *Sieur Simon Reaume*, a former voyageur who has much influence among the savage nations, with two canoes bearing presents to go to the Miami to pacify this nation, to prevent its being taken in by the intrigues of those of its chiefs who are partisans of the English, and if possible to persuade it to go to the Rivière St. Joseph; and to go then to the Ouiatanon and to the Kankakee to hamper the effect of the belts which the Miami chiefs who are in the interests of the English have sent them, inviting them to go along with them to Albany, and to work as much as possible to have them leave the place where they are living to go to the Kankakee. This precaution appears to me to be all the more necessary since I foresaw that the *Sieur Dubuisson*, on whom I always counted and whom the council consented to grant me to go command at the post of the Ouiatanon, could not arrive here in time to be ready to go there this year. He will go next spring, and I hope that by his influence he will urge these savages and the Miami to do what is suitable for them to do.

No. 9. Permit to M. Dubuisson, June 15, 1721²²

A permit for two canoes granted to M. Dubuisson, captain, who is to go command at the Miami and Ouiatanon, dated June 15, 1721.

For the subsistence of ten men who man the two canoes, forty *pots*²³ of brandy.

No. 10. Permit to Nicolas Ladouceur, August 8, 1721²⁴

[In margin: La Douceur, registration of leave. Took twenty *pots* of brandy for the five men who man the canoe.]

There appeared at the record office of the royal jurisdiction of Montreal before the clerk signed below the Sieur Nicolas Ladouceur, who presented a leave which M. the general had granted him to go with a canoe to the post of the Ouiatanon, dated the seventh of the month, for which authorization he requested registration in conformity with itself and with the declaration of the king of April 28 [1716], the record requested granted by said clerk and immediately said authorization was registered upon the present register by the said clerk, as follows,

Philippe de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, commander of the military order of St. Louis, governor and lieutenant general for the king in all New France,

We have permitted the man named Ladouceur, who has served for four years as interpreter at the post of the Ouiatanon, to return to said post with a canoe manned by four men, including himself, whose names and addresses he will give

²² Permission à M. Dubuisson, le 15 juin 1721, Registre des Congés, Ordonnances et Arrêts Conservé aux Archives Judiciaires de Montréal, 9077, typed copy.

²³ At Paris a *pot* was the equivalent of 1.861 litres. The measure may have varied in different localities. *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, XXXIII, 753.

²⁴ Congé à Nicolas Ladouceur, le 8 août 1721, Registre des Congés, Ordonnances et Arrêts Conservé aux Archives Judiciaires de Montréal, 9072, typed copy.

before his departure to M. de Ramezay, governor of Montreal, in which [canoe] he may load the provisions and other goods he will need for his nourishment and support at the said post where he will continue to serve in said capacity of interpreter and to leave for this purpose in the convoy which will go to the Miami under the command of the Sieur Dubuisson, captain of a company of the troops of His Majesty, whom we have detached to go command at the Miami and Ouiatanon, on condition that the four men will each be furnished a gun for their journey, both going and returning, without their being allowed to get rid of them by trading them to the savages, or otherwise, under penalty of three months' imprisonment, and that they carry for the king's account up to one hundred fifty pounds of merchandise and munitions which will be delivered to them from the stores of His Majesty, for the establishment of the post of the Miami as well as for its use and for that of the Ouiatanon, which goods they will be required to turn over at their arrival at the said post of the Miami into the hands of the said Sieur Dubuisson, from whom they will get a receipt which they will bring back to us upon their return under penalty of being responsible in their own name. The said four men will also be required to have these presents registered before their departure at the record office of the royal jurisdiction of this town. We expressly prohibit them from carrying more than four *pots* of brandy each for their use only and from trading it to the savages under any pretext whatever, as well as from conducting any commerce or trade of merchandise in Lakes Ontario and Erie, at Detroit, or elsewhere than at the Miami and Ouiatanon. We order the three men that said Ladouceur will take with him to be back in this town in the month of September of next year at the latest, under the penalties borne by the orders of His Majesty. We enjoin them to obey their commandant in everything that he will order them, whether for the works which it will be necessary to construct for the safety of his post or anything which might in addition

be regarded as the king's service, under penalty of disobedience. Done at Montreal, August 7, 1721. Signed, VAUDREUIL, and farther down, for monseigneur, Signed, DE LESTAGE.

DAVID
Clerk

No. 11. M. the Marquis de Vaudreuil, October 6, 1721²⁵

* * * * *

The Ouiatanon have also refused to go to the Kankakee, and the little band which had settled there abandoned it when they saw that the remainder of the nation was not moving there. Thus the hopes he had of attracting the Miami to the Rivière St. Joseph and the Ouiatanon to the banks of the Kankakee have entirely vanished; but since it is very important not to abandon these nations, he had the Sieur Dubuisson, captain, leave last August to go establish a post among the Miami and to command there as well as at that of the Ouiatanon. He will reside at the Miami, since it is necessary that he remain there to impede the effect of the practices of the English, who continue to speak to them by means of some Iroquois who go almost every year to the Miami under pretext of visiting them as friends. Those emissaries who spent the winter this year in the village of the latter chose the time that the Sieur Dumont was at the Ouiatanon to take away eight or ten canoes of Miami savages to Albany to trade. He hopes that the Sieur Dubuisson will find means to have these practices cease by means of the influence he has on the spirit of these savages.

* * * * *

No. 12. Permission to Jean Richard, September 3, 1722²⁶
[In margin: Richard, permit for the Ouiatanon. Took out sixteen *pots* of brandy for the four men, left September 9.]

²⁵ C11A43:328v-329v.

²⁶ Congé à Jean Richard, le 3 septembre 1722, Registre des Congés, Ordonnances et Arrêts Conservé aux Archives Judiciaires de Montréal, 9477, typed copy.

There appeared at the record office of the royal jurisdiction of Montreal before the clerk undersigned the Sieur Jean Richard, who presented permission which monseigneur the governor general had granted him to go to the post of the Ouiatanon this day, for which permission he requested registration in conformity with itself and with the declaration of the king of April 28, 1716, the record requested granted him by said clerk for his use and to be used as may be thought proper and immediately the said permission was registered by said clerk as follows. Done at Montreal at said record office, September 3, 1722.

Philippe de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, Knight Grand Cross of the military order of St. Louis, governor and lieutenant general for the king in all New France

The man named Jean Richard, formerly interpreter and blacksmith at the post of the Ouiatanon, where he served under the Sieurs de Vincennes, father and son, has represented to us that his wife, who is of the Ouiatanon nation, and who has been continually ill for the two years that she came to live in this colony, wishes to return to her country to recover her health, if it would please us to grant him permission to take her back to said post of the Ouiatanon with her children; and since the Sieur de Vincennes *fils* who commands there has asked us for the said Richard, whom he needs because he is a blacksmith as well as a good interpreter and a man of good will to serve in the conversations [?] which he is obliged to hold for the interests of the savages, we have permitted said Jean Richard to return to said post with his wife and three children in a canoe, taking with him the men named Joseph Larrivé, Louis Goulet, and François Seran to aid him in conducting the said canoe, in which he has declared to us that he is taking the things necessary for his housekeeping, his clothes and those of his family, with a hundred pounds of flour, three hundred pounds of biscuit, two *pots* of brandy, fifteen *pots* of wine, and two *pots* of strawberry brandy, and that his entire merchandise

consists of only one hundred pounds of powder, one hundred pounds of lead, nine ells of woolen cloth, a gross of knives, and two pounds of vermilion. We forbid the said Richard to carry or to allow to be carried in said canoe for his three employees any other merchandise or brandy than that declared above under the penalties carried by the ordinances; we also forbid them to do any trading or commerce with the savages in the dependencies of Fort Frontenac, of Detroit, or elsewhere than at said post of the Ouiatanon. The said Richard will be required to have these presents registered before his departure from this town at the record office of the royal jurisdiction of Montreal. We enjoin the three employees of the said Richard to return to this colony and to be back during the month of July of next year at the latest, each with his gun, which they will be required to have upon leaving from here and to bring back upon their return, without being allowed to get rid of them by trading them to the savages under penalty of three months in prison. Done at Montreal, September 3, 1722; signed, VAUDREUIL, and lower down, for monseigneur, DE LESTAGE.

DAVID

No. 13. M. de Vaudreuil, Quebec, October 24, 1722²⁷

* * * * *

The Sieur de Vincennes *fils*, who is only a cadet in the troops, commands among this nation [Ouiatanon] under the orders of the Sieur Dubuisson. He has been there since 1718, and he serves very usefully because of the great influence he has acquired among these savages, who keep for him the same attachment they had for the Sieur de Vincennes, his father. His services merit that the council pay some attention to them. If I had foreseen the establishment which the king made this year of an *enseigne en second* in each of the twenty-eight companies which His Majesty supports in Canada, I would have

²⁷ C11A44:367v-368v.

had the honor of proposing him to the council to have one of the places which were not filled by the *petits enseignes*. . . . I very humbly beg the council to grant similar letters of service to the Sieur de Vincennes so that he may be admitted into the first vacancy after the Sieurs Le Verrier, Sabrevois, and Lignery have been admitted.²⁸

* * * * *

No. 14. List of Permits for the present year, 1722, granted by M. the Marquis of Vaudreuil to the officers and voyageurs, and the quantity of brandy which they have taken or sent for their subsistence, all registered at the record office of Montreal²⁹

* * * * *

A permit for two canoes granted to M. Dubuisson, captain in the troops and commandant at the Miami and Ouiatanon, which left last August 3, for the eight men who are escorting the two canoes, thirty-two *pots* of brandy 32
and for the subsistence of the said Sieur DuBuisson,
sixty *pots* 60

* * * * *

A permit for one canoe granted to the Sieur Vincenne who is at the Ouiatanon, for five men who are escorting the canoe, twenty *pots* of brandy 20
and for the subsistence of said Sieur de Vincenne thirty
pots of brandy 30

* * * * *

A permit granted to Jean Richard to go to the Ouiatanon, for the four men who are escorting this canoe, sixteen
pots of brandy 16

²⁸ In 1722 Vincennes was made a half-pay ensign in the colony of Louisiana. Roy, *The Sieur de Vincennes Identified*, p. 82.

²⁹ C11A45:353, 353v, 354, 354v.

A permit for one canoe granted to the Sieur Vincennes, who is at the Ouiatanon, which has been sold to Jean Baptiste Forestier, who has permission to exploit it, for the four men who are escorting this canoe, sixteen *pots* of brandy . . 16

* * * * *

Montreal, September 23, 1722.

No. 15. Permit to the R. P. Guimoneau, May 29, 1725³⁰

There appeared at the record office of the royal jurisdiction of Montreal before the clerk undersigned Sieur Gilles Chauvin
[blank]

Philippes

We have permitted the R. P. Guimoneau, missionary of the Company of Jesus, to leave this town to go to the Miami and Ouiatanon with two canoes manned by five men each, including a servant, whose names and addresses he has given us, and to carry in the canoes the provisions and other goods which it is customary to grant missionaries for their needs. The said ten men will each be required to have his gun for their journey out and back without being allowed to get rid of them by trading them to the savages or otherwise, under penalty of three months in prison, and also to have these presents registered before their departure at the record office of the royal jurisdiction of Montreal, and to have them countersigned by M. the intendant, if he is in this town, to be back in this colony within eighteen months from the day of their departure and to bring back a certificate of good conduct from the commandant of the said post, which certificate they will have registered at the said record office within a week after their return under the penalties declared against the *coureurs de bois* without permits. We forbid them under the same penalties to do any trading or commerce with the savages other than those of the area of the said

³⁰ Congé au R. P. Guimoneau, le 29 mai 1725, Registre des Congés, Ordonnances et Arrêts Conservé aux Archives Judiciaires de Montréal, 11886, typed copy.

post under any pretext whatever, and also to carry in said canoes more than four *pots* of brandy per man over and above the quantity of sixteen *pots* which we have granted to the R. P. Guimoneau for his provisions, which will be for their use only without their being able to trade it to the savages under any pretext. Done at Montreal, May 26, 1725. Signed, VAUDREUIL, and farther down for monseigneur, DEMONCEAUX.

DAVID

No. 16. Messrs. Péri³¹ and de la Chaise, New Orleans, July 31, 1728³²

* * * * *

The Sieur de Vincennes, who had remained ill at the home of the Sieur Petit de Livilliers, came down [to New Orleans] after his recovery. We showed him your last thoughts on the subject of the Wabash establishment, and it was decided that he would remain among the Miami, where he would have his itinerant fort [?] in order to avoid an expense which might become useless, because actually apart from the fact that the Miami might not all settle on the three rivers, those who stayed behind would be capable of lending a hand to the English, whereas by remaining among them, since he is loved and esteemed by this nation, he will have them do all that he will wish. We have given him 3,400£ of merchandise which he is taking back with him; it will serve in payment of his salary, bonus, subsistence for ten soldiers, and presents for the savages.

* * * * *

No. 17. Permit to Sieur Gaudet, May 8, 1730³³

Jean Louis de la Corne, Chevalier, Lord of Chaptés and

³¹ Governor of Louisiana, 1726-33.

³² C13A11:58-58v.

³³ Congé au Sieur Gaudet, le 8 mai 1730, Registre des Congés, Ordonnances et Arrêts Conservé aux Archives Judiciaires de Montréal, 14114, typed copy.

Dubreuil, chevalier of the military order of St. Louis, lieutenant for the king, commandant in the government of Montreal and its dependencies,

We have permitted the Sieur Gaudé to leave this town at once with a canoe manned by five men, including himself, whose names and addresses he has given us, according to the order and authority given us by M. the general by his letter of the third of this month, to go to the Ouiatanon; we permit said Sieur Gaudé to embark in his said canoe the rations, provisions, merchandise, and goods proper for trade in the said post and all its dependencies, as he shall deem best for his interests, as well as rations for his subsistence and that of his people during the journey. We forbid said Sieur Gaudé to trade with savages other than those of said post of the Ouiatanon, and its dependencies, where the Sieur de Vincennes commands, and we even permit him to go up to the Illinois if he judges it proper. The four employees whom he is taking in his said canoe will each be required to have his gun while going up as well as returning, without being allowed to get rid of them by trading them to the savages or otherwise, under penalty of three months' imprisonment, and also to have these presents countersigned by M. the subdelegate to the intendant, if he is in this town, and to have them registered at the record office of the royal jurisdiction of Montreal before their departure, to be back in this town in the month of August of the next year, 1731, and to bring back a certificate of good conduct from the commandant at said post, which certificate they will have registered at the record office at their arrival, all under the penalties declared against the *coureurs de bois* without permits; we permit the said Sieur Gaudé and his men each to take aboard four *pots* of brandy per man which will serve for their use only, without their being allowed to trade it to the savages under any pretext whatever; furthermore, we enjoin him to go along the north side of Lake Ontario and not the south under penalty of confiscation of his merchandise, and to show the list of his

load to the commandant of Fort Frontenac, from whom he will get a certificate to present to the commandant at Fort Niagara, who will countersign it, and which certificate will be examined and presented to the commandant of Detroit and at the Miami. Done at Montreal, this eighth of May, 1730. Signed LA CORNE; examined, SILLY.

RAIMBAULT *fil*s

No. 18. Messrs. de Beauharnois³⁴ and Hocquart,³⁵ Quebec, October 15, 1730³⁶

* * * * *

The Ouiatanon have been led into the government of Louisiana by the Sieur de Vincennes, who is entirely removed from this one. The Sieur de Beauharnois (to oblige this nation to return to the Miami to seek their necessities) at first had planned not to permit any voyageur to go to that region, and his plan would have been carried out if he had not been pledged to grant this permission to some Frenchmen to escort missionaries to the Tamaroa;³⁷ they took away with them a quantity of merchandise which they will exploit in the former post as usual.

* * * * *

No. 19. Partnership between the Papin brothers, May 10, 1732³⁸

Before the royal notary, etc., were present Sieur Pierre and Charles Papin, brothers, ordinarily inhabitants of the borough of Boucherville, at present in this said town, who, being on the point of leaving to go into the upper country, have made as

³⁴ Charles de Beauharnois (ca. 1670-1759), governor and lieutenant general of New France from 1726 to 1747.

³⁵ Gilles Hocquart, intendant of Canada from 1731 to 1748.

³⁶ C11A52:30v-31.

³⁷ The Tamaroa were Illinois Indians.

³⁸ Société entre Papin frères, le 10 mai 1732, Archives Judiciaires du District de Montréal, 11905, typed copy.

good comrades an instrument of partnership, the agreements and conventions of which follow, to wit: The said Sieurs Pierre and Charles Papin are joined and join by these presents of partnership for the time and space of three entire and consecutive years, which will begin today, the date of these presents, or longer if at the end of said three years they have not returned from the post of the Ouiatanon, where they are ready to go, to this town, without either one being allowed to quit said partnership under any pretext whatever, unless they have rendered account to and paid the merchant who will have equipped them and to whom they will have accepted a debt; the said brothers will share equally in everything, in expenses as well as receipts, for the expenses of permits, canoes, employees, merchandise, and generally all sorts of expenses, made and to be made, and at the end of the said three years they will have all their beaver and furs brought into this said town to finish paying the said merchants who will have equipped them, and thereafter to share equally in the profit which might remain; and if at the end of said partnership there is not enough to satisfy the merchant who will have equipped them, they will be jointly liable, as they will be from the time that they begin, the date of these presents. And if unfortunately one of them should die in the course of said three years, the survivor would manage the said partnership and would have all the profits, each relinquishing to the survivor, without any other member of their family being allowed to ask for anything; which they have accepted, each promising the other to have a hundred masses said out of the profits of said partnership when the survivor will be in a post where there is a missionary; thus the said parties agreed, for which they are obligated to each other and mortgaged all their goods, real and personal, present and future, each promising legally himself, etc., renouncing, etc. Done and passed at said Montreal, office of the notary, in the year seventeen hundred thirty-two, the tenth day of May, in the afternoon, in the presence of the Sieurs Jean-Baptiste Senet

and Charles Hery, witnesses, residents of said Montreal, who have signed with the said Sieurs Papin, brothers, and the notary, after the reading had been done according to the ordinance.

P PAPIN

JEAN B^{TE} SENET

CHARLES PAPIN

HERY

CHAUMONT

N.R.

No. 20. Extract of a letter written to M. the Marquis de Beauharnois by the Sieur Darnaud,³⁹ commandant at the Miami, October 25, 1732⁴⁰

The day after I had proceeded to my post, fifteen or sixteen Miami canoes arrived from Albany loaded with four hundred casks of brandy. Five or six days later they staved one in which was the entire skin of a human hand. This news spread quickly in the village and surprised them extremely; nevertheless, it did not stop the course of the drunkenness. At the end of three days, two persons who had been well in the evening were buried the next day at eight o'clock in the morning. Thereafter, for more than three weeks, at least four of them died every day. The remonstrances which I made to them that they had no good nourishment in their village, and that by dispersing into the woods they would find meat which would give them strength to resist the malady connected with the bad air (from the quantity of dead with which they were surrounded), caused them to decide to go away for the winter, from which location I have had news that some die from time to time but not in as great numbers as in their village. (The number of dead is at present about one hundred fifty persons.)

The first deaths did not astonish me; I attributed them to excessive drinking. But the continuation surprised me more. I examined and visited the dead and concluded that it was a

³⁹ Nicolas-Marie Renaud (d'Arnaud) Davenne de Desmeloises (1696-1743). He was commandant at the Miami post in 1732 and after. *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVII, 211n.

⁴⁰ C11A57:348-50.

poison as subtle as it was shrewd, taking effect only after the passage of a considerable time. With this idea in mind I wished to have a more certain proof. A war chief of this nation who was especially attached to me and who was worthy of being spared was attacked by the malady. I gave him a dose of a very strong nostrum, which saved his life. I likewise rescued several others by this remedy, but when there was no more, those who were deprived of this aid all died, and not one of those who used it succumbed.

The Miami are not the only victims of this poison. The Wea came to the number of one hundred thirty to dance the calumet. Brandy was not spared, but after their return home the same malady seized them. And several letters from that place have informed me that almost all are dead.

After their departure the Piankashaw also came to pay a visit to the Miami. Because the number of dead was considerable, I told them about the desolation in which we found ourselves, making them understand at the same time that we are suffering this misfortune only because of the brandy which my savages had brought from the English. I added that since they had come to rejoice with their brothers, it would be unfortunate if they put themselves among the number of those whom we were obliged to mourn every day, and that the way to avoid it was not to make a long sojourn in the village and especially not to drink there. They listened to me as far as the departure was concerned, not staying long. But judging from their expressions, brandy was a greater chief than I; and they also have not escaped the malady, for I have received news that some are dying of it every day.⁴¹

No. 21. Reply to the memoir of the king. Messrs. the Marquis de Beauharnois and Hocquart, October 7, 1734⁴²

⁴¹ Probably the many deaths were caused by a smallpox epidemic; at any rate the reports for the following year talked about the ravages of the disease in the Miami country.

⁴² C11A61:91-92.

A disturbance took place at the village of the Ouiatanon, where the Sieur de l'Epervanche⁴³ commands, which at first gave rise to much disorder. Two young men, one a Frenchman and the other a savage, fought; the Frenchman came off best. The savage went to get his comrades, who, after they were stirred up, struck several blows with knives and pillaged all the French who were in the post, but nevertheless there was no murder. The Sieur de l'Epervanche, who was two or three arpents away, was advised of it but he could not remedy it; and seeing that he was not in a position to inspire respect, he sent a messenger to the Sieur Pean,⁴⁴ commandant at Detroit, to advise him of what was taking place and to send him aid. At the arrival of this express, the Sieur Pean assembled the French of Detroit, all of whom asked to go obtain satisfaction for this insult. There were 120; 115 Huron wished to belong to the party, together with a great number of Ottawa. The Sieur Darnaud, who was then at Detroit looking for supplies, had command of this party, which comprised 324 men when he arrived at the Miami. But when he was preparing to go to the Ouiatanon with his detachment, he received a letter from the Sieur de l'Epervanche which noted that all was set to rights, that he had smoked with the Ouiatanon chiefs, the young men had returned the pillage to the French, and these same chiefs had assured him that they were pledging themselves to restore to the French whatever might be missing from what their young men had taken; at the same time he no longer needed the aid he had asked of the Sieur Pean, and the situation in his post was tranquil. After he received this letter, M. Darnaud decided to remain at the Miami, where he is commanding, and sent back the Sieur Duburon with the French and the savages of Detroit.

⁴³ François de l'Epervanche de Villemure, a cadet in the troops. *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVII, 211n.

⁴⁴ Ives Jacques-Hughes Péan de Livaudière (1682-1747), commandant at Detroit, 1733-36. *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, XXXIV, 321-23.

This step has had a very good result among the nations, among whom it caused terror, and ought to make us believe that they will control themselves in the future much more than they have done up to now.

* * * * *

*No. 22. Agreement between Normanville, Augé, and La Faverez, in favor of La Faverez*⁴⁵

[In margin: June 6, 1735]

Louis Godfroy, esquire, Sieur de Normanville, officer in the troops and commandant for the king at the post of the Ouiatanon and its dependencies, relinquishes everything,

sells and cedes

[In margin: First] The exclusive commerce of said post without reservation to the aforesaid François Augé, and René Bissonnet, merchant voyageurs and bourgeois of this town, for and in consideration of the sum of 2,500£ payable each year as long as it will please M. the general to keep him at said post, in beaver or money then current. [In margin: Payable upon his order at Montreal, the first payment of which will fall due in seventeen hundred thirty-six at the arrival of the canoes from the said place and thus continue year by year. AUGÉ]

Second

Furthermore to maintain the said gentleman from the day of their departure as long as the said agreement shall last, until their arrival in this town, if it indeed will last, and to bring him in advance in this present year five hundred pounds of flour.

[In margin: Third] To carry each year for the said gentleman three barrels of brandy of about fifteen *pots* and four barrels of wine, to be received by said gentleman at Montreal or by his order to deliver them to said place; in addi-

⁴⁵ Photostat of original in Chicago Historical Society. Apparently a rough copy, the document is written very poorly; therefore this interpretation may not be entirely accurate.

tion, a barrel of powder and the package of merchandise which will be set aside for presents, and fifty pounds of tobacco at the risk of the said gentlemen except the risk of ruin.

[In margin: Fourth] Pledges himself also to send down the presents which the savages will give each year.

The said parties have agreed on all the things above, and have signed them, and [*consent* crossed out] to sign instruments in better form which will be passed without delay in a more explicit form, at Montreal, June 4, 1735. [In margin: Be it understood that he will be maintained for only three years, but if he will continue longer, the said gentlemen will have the preference in the agreement which will be made.]

[Here a section is crossed out.]

[In margin: Fifth] The said commandant pledges himself to assist them and by his authority to maintain the said associates in the tranquility of their commerce.

GODEFROY NORMANVILLE RENÉ BISSONET LAFAVEREZ
FRANCOIS AUGÉ

No. 23. M. de Bienville, New Orleans, June 21, 1737⁴⁶

* * * * *

It so happens today that the Kickapoo and Mascouten who came to make their village with the Miami two years ago do not get along with them, and M. de la Buissonière⁴⁷ assures me that if only one would invite them they would come to settle there [Illinois]. I will send him orders for this change, which will not cause a great expense, and I hope that monseigneur will approve them. All that I fear is that the Sieur de Linquetot, the Canadian officer who is commanding at the Miami and Ouiatanon, is opposed to letting the Kickapoo and Mascouten go because these two nations are of his department. I will write him on this subject.

⁴⁶ C13A22:103v, 104v-105.

⁴⁷ Alphonse de Buissonière, commandant (1737-40) at Fort Chartres in the Illinois country, a dependency of Louisiana. *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVII, 321n.

One thing which in my opinion contributes much to detaching from our interests the nations situated between Canada and this province and which makes them have recourse to the English is the practice established at Quebec of leasing the trade of the nations to the highest bidding merchants, who then give the necessary merchandise to those who go to command in the posts, to whom they pay a certain sum for this purpose. I know that Detroit is leased for 9,000 francs, Ouiatanon a thousand crowns, and so forth. It is necessary for these commandants to become traders, first earning from the merchandise the price of the lease, in consideration of which they cannot give goods to the savages cheaply. This policy, added to some presents of brandy, results in the word of the English being listened to in preference to ours.

Besides, these leases do a very great wrong to this colony, so that while the practice lasts one must not hope that it will establish itself on a par with Canada.

The commandants of the leased posts, without any regard for the passports which I give traders, keep them from trading in the nations of their departments, which extend almost to the Illinois, unless these traders buy from them the trading merchandise, which they can get much cheaper at the stores of the Illinois. This just happened recently to a man named Blazeau, a voyageur who, having outfitted himself at the Illinois to go trade in the upper nations, was stopped at the Ouiatanon by the *Sieur Linquetot*, who commands there. He refused to let him pass unless he bought from him the merchandise for the trade. Since this voyageur had made his selection at the Illinois, he was obliged to stop there, and it was useless for him to point out that he was a Frenchman and that he had passports. This man arrived here with the convoy without having been able to do anything.

* * * * *

No. 24. Extract of letters written to M. the Marquis de Beauharnois by the *Sieurs de Linctot* and *Damour de la Morandière*,

commandants at the posts of the Ouiatanon and Miami, February 17, March 17, June 1 and 9, and July 25, 1738⁴⁸

The Sieur de Linctot reports by his letter of February 17 that the savages of his post were to leave early in spring to make war on the Chickasaw and that they had told him that they wished to avenge their father for the insult which had been done him and at the same time the blood of their brothers which had been shed.

By his letter of March 17 he writes that most of his savages were ready to leave for the Chickasaw.

By that of June 1, he reports that of the four parties which went to war on this nation, one returned with two prisoners; one was burned, and they granted life to the other because he was too young. And by that of July 25, he reports that the savages of the Vermilion had brought back three Chickasaw, one of whom was burned; the other two were granted life because they were children. A party of Ouiatanon brought back four men, of which they burned three and gave the fourth to the Miami, where he met the same fate. Two parties were halted because their war chief died on the way, and he was expecting from day to day three parties still in the field. He adds that a party of eighteen Ottawa just passed with another of twenty-eight Miami.

The Sieur de la Morandière notes by his letter of June 9 that the young men of his post were leaving every day to go to war on the Chickasaw.

No. 25. Contract of Jean-Baptiste Dumets to Sieur Dulompré and Company, June 1, 1739⁴⁹

Before the royal notaries of the royal jurisdiction of Montreal here resident, undersigned, was present Jean Baptiste

⁴⁸ C11A69:107-107v.

⁴⁹ Engagement de Jean Baptiste Dumets au Sr. Dulompré et Compagnie, premier Juin, 1739, Etude Jean-Bte Adhemar, N. R., 7624, Archives Judiciaires de Montréal, typed copy.

Dumets, blacksmith, inhabitant of this town, who voluntarily contracted himself to Jean-Baptiste Forestier and Company by these presents for three years, to leave this town at the first request which will be made of him to go spend the winter in the post of the Ouïatanon and its limits during the said time and to come back in seventeen hundred forty-two, during the time when the voyageurs come down from said place to this town . . . , and when he has come down the said three years will be finished without any claim for the remainder of said three years; and while going up and coming down to aid in conducting the canoes, merchandise, and furs of said associates, to care for them, as well as the provisions and other implements for the journey, to obey them or those who will have the direction of their canoes and goods, to serve them faithfully, to make profits for them, to avoid damages for them, to warn them of any if it comes to his knowledge, to go into the trading places where they will judge proper without trading on his own account directly or indirectly under penalty of losing what he will make from such trade, and generally to do all that will be commanded him which is lawful and honest and which he can do, without being allowed to leave said service without their consent under penalty of the ordinance. This contract thus made and furthermore for and on condition of the sum of seven hundred fifty livres for wages and salary of said employee for the said three years, which will be paid him by said associates upon his return to this town in money or furs at the price of the merchant equippers, and in addition two deerskins, twelve pounds of tobacco, and a cotton shirt each year, the present not included. . . . Done and passed at said Montreal, office of Adhemar, one of the said notaries, in the year seventeen hundred thirty-nine, the first of June, in the forenoon, and the said Sieur Forestier signed with the said notaries. Upon inquiry, said employee declared he did not know how to write or sign . . .

J. B. FORESTIER AND COMPANY

DANRE DE BLANZY

ADHEMAR

No. 26.

339£. 15

List of expenses⁵⁰ incurred by me, La Pérade,⁵¹ commandant for the king at the Miami post, to go fetch the man named La Peau Blanche, Ouiatanon, who killed a Miami returning from the English. Because said Miami wished very strongly to go avenge themselves upon this nation for the insults which had been done them, and because I stopped them only by becoming surety that I would bring back the murderer upon their mat and that they could dispose of him to their liking, for this purpose I left with five Frenchmen to go to the Ouiatanon in order to fulfill the promise which I had made, to calm the trouble that this war was going to cause in these districts,

To wit⁵²

5 men at 50 livres per man to make the journey	250.£
1 pint of brandy per man to drink along the route at 10£ a <i>pot</i>	25.
2 minots of corn for the subsistence of these employees at 10£ a minot	20.
10 pounds of grease at 20 sols a pound	10.
2 pounds of vermilion to pay the savages for meat along the route at 10£	20.
2 pounds of powder for the men at 50s	5.
3 pounds of lead at 15s	2. 5
2 pounds of balls at 15s	1.10
4 pounds of tobacco at 30s	6.
	<hr/>
	339.15
	<hr/>

⁵⁰ C11A76:211-212.

⁵¹ Charles-François Tarieu de la Pérade and his brother, Jean-Baptiste de la Pérade de Tarieu, were both active in the western trade. See *Illinois Historical Collections*, XXIX, xxiiin.

⁵² French currency in this and other documents is given in livres, sols,

Done at the post of the Miami this twenty-second of October, 1741. Signed, LA PÉRADE *films* and farther down, noted, good, signed, BEAUHARNOIS.

We, Henry Albert de St. Vincent, esquire, lord of Narcy,⁵³ officer and commandant for the king at the post of the Ouiatanon by order of M. the general,

We certify that the Sieur de Lapérade, officer and commandant for the king at the Miami, repaired here with dispatch with five men to arrange and rectify with us the death of a Miami savage, killed by La Peau Blanche, war chief of said village of the Ouias; whom the Sieur La Pérade took away with him to his post, to enable him to justify himself and to calm all the trouble which this death might have been able to cause among us and among these nations, at the fort of the Ouias, the eighth of October, 1740, signed, ST. VINCENT *films*.

List of those who came with me to the Ouiatanon to fetch La Peau Blanche, who had killed a Miami, to wit,

François Roy

Savane, called Carignant

Louis Massaut

Joseph Esuturier

Jacquot Le Panis

Done at the post of the Miami, October 22, 1741.

Signed, LA PÉRADE *films*.

* * * * *

No. 27. Mémoire of Canada, 1740 and 1741, by Beaucours,⁵⁴ commandant at Montreal⁵⁵

and deniers. For a discussion of currency and exchange, see Adam Shortt, *Documents relatifs à la monnaie, au change et aux finances du Canada sous le régime français* (2 volumes. Ottawa, 1925), I, xxxii-lxxxix.

⁵³ For sketch see *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVII, 428

⁵⁴ Jean-Maurice-Josué de Boisberthelot de Beaucourt, governor of Montreal from 1733 to 1748. *Illinois Historical Collections*, XXIX, 23n.

⁵⁵ C11A76:263.

On April 26 eight cabins of Mascouten arrived at the Ouiatanon to settle there with a chief who was there; they fear the Fox who are with the Sioux on the Wisconsin.

* * * * *

No. 28. M. the Marquis de Beauharnois, Quebec, September 5, 1742⁵⁶

* * * * *

It is to be feared, monseigneur, that as soon as the savages are informed that the posts are to be auctioned they will all go to the English; perhaps we will not perceive this the first year, but it could happen the second. I cannot give you, monseigneur, a greater proof than by the precaution I took to prevent the Ouiatanon, Petikokia, Kickapoo, and Mascouten from passing to Oswego, as you will see in my replies to their speeches, and the promise which I made them before I received your orders to put the post of the Ouiatanon on the permit system like Detroit, because of their remonstrances which they made to me that merchandise was sold to them very dearly. Nevertheless some voyageurs exploit it and the commandant has only 3,000£ a year which they give him. That of the St. Joseph River is on the same footing. How can I now keep my word to them, and at the same time carry out the intentions of His Majesty?

* * * * *

No. 29. Beauharnois, October 12, 1742, Quebec⁵⁷

* * * * *

The Sieur de St. Vincent wrote me last June 25 that on the ninth of the same month twenty Miami of the village of Kitépikono and three Potawatomi of the River St. Joseph who

⁵⁶ C11A77:94v-95. The document, in full, is given in translation in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVII, 409-12.

⁵⁷ C11E16:263-264.

were returning from war on the Cherokee had found two Frenchmen who were escaping from the last nation. Instead of coming into his fort, they stopped at the village of the Ouiatanon. After he had been informed that they had bound these Frenchmen, put slave collars around their necks, and allowed the young Ouiatanon to make them dance at the door of the cabin where they had stopped, he had been to the village to ask them why they were treating their brothers thus. When they were a long time in replying to him, he had the cords of these two Frenchmen who were in the hands of the Miami cut, and when he wished to take them away with him to his fort, the chiefs begged him to give them time to eat and to wash them, and then they would come to him and he would have reason to be satisfied. He granted this request when the interpreter pointed out that if he used violence only some accident could result: the next day six chiefs came to bring him one of these two Frenchmen and begged him to deem it good that the other be delivered by the Miami to the Sieur St. Pierre.⁵⁸ He consented while recommending to them not to practice upon him the bad treatment to which they had resorted in respect to these two Frenchmen; he said that he was going to leave to take the other to the commandant of this post. When the Sieur de St. Vincent arrived there, he found the Frenchman whom the Miami chiefs had turned over to the Sieur de St. Pierre, who reproached them greatly for the manner in which they had acted, and no one of the war party dared present himself before him. These two Frenchmen, one of whom is Bordeaux, taken in 1740, and the other from Louisiana, taken last year, were to come down with the Sieur de Noyan,⁵⁹ from them I will learn more exactly their adventures and I can also draw some knowledge of the forces of these enemy nations. . . .

⁵⁸ Jacques le Gardeur de St. Pierre (1701-1755). For sketch see *Illinois Historical Collections*, XXIX, 24n.

⁵⁹ Pierre-Jacques Payan de Noyan de Chavois. *Ibid.*, XXIX, 185n.

No. 30. List of the receipts from the proceeds of the posts of the upper country for the year 1743,⁶⁰ and the payments made upon the proceeds of these posts by M. the Marquis de Beauharnois, in conformity with the orders of His Majesty

Receipts

For the proceeds of twelve congés at Missilimakinac at 600£ each	7200.£
For that of the fourteen of Detroit	7000.
For the lease of the post of La Baye	8100.
For that of Temiscamingue	5600.
For that of the Ouiatanon	3000.
For that of Michipicoton	3750.
For the proceeds of the post of the Miami	1200.
For that of Gamanastigoya	2733.
For that of Rivière St. Joseph	1200.
For that of Chagoüamigon	3000.
For that of Lac Alepimigon	3000.
For that of the Illinois	2000.
<hr/>	
Total Receipts	47783.

* * * * *

Payments

To the Chevalier de Longüeul, commandant at Detroit, for his allowance	3000.£
To the Sieur de Vercheres, commandant at Missilimakinac, ditto	3000.
To the Sieur de Lusignan, commandant at La Baye, ditto	3000.
To the Sieur de la Perrière, commandant at the Ouiatanon, ditto	3000.

⁶⁰ C11A115:32, 33v.

No. 31. Posts of the upper country leased according to the bids which were made March 26, 1743, at the Chateau St. Louis⁶¹

To wit

This post has no commandant	Temiscamingue, awarded to the Sieur Goguet for Madame Bouat at	5600.£
Ditto	Michipicoton, awarded to the Sieur Gatineau at	3750.
This post has a commanding officer	The Ouiatanon, awarded to the Sieur de Voisy at	3000.
Ditto	La Baye, the Sioux included, awarded to the Sieur de la Gorgendiere, who has trans- ferred it to M. Daillebout and other voyageurs, at	8100.
		<hr/> 20450.£

No. 32. Memoir of the state of the colony of Louisiana in 1746⁶²

* * * * *

We have already spoken of the post of Petits Ouyas on the Wabash, which is a dependency of Louisiana.⁶³ Going farther up the same river, at a distance of sixty leagues, is a little establishment at the Grand Ouyas; it belongs to those which are dependencies of Canada and is the most advanced in the direction of Louisiana. It is made up of only about twenty habitants. The trade there is very considerable. The nation of the Grand Ouyas can raise about six hundred warriors, who until now have been very fond of the French, as well as the other nations of this part of the continent.

⁶¹ C11A79:224.

⁶² C13A30:268.

⁶³ Vincennes on the Lower Wabash.

No. 33. Messrs. de Beauharnois and Hocquart, Quebec, September 22, 1746⁶⁴

* * * * *

We have allowed the same lessees charged with the posts of the Ouiatanon and the Rivière St. Joseph to subsist for another year free of charge in order to maintain the savages of the post until times change.

* * * * *

No. 34. List of supplies furnished by me, Michel Gamelin, at the post of the Ouiatanon for the account and service of the king,⁶⁵ following the orders of M. the Chevalier de la Pérade, commandant for the king at the said place and this since the first of September, 1746, at his arrival here;

Having assembled La Teste Blanche and his band to tell them the news of the war and to encourage them to maintain good unity with the French and to warn of the blows of the English by the instigation of the Iroquois.

To wit

	8 bottles of brandy at 10£ a <i>pot</i>	40£	} 326£
	2 ells of cloth at 12£ per ell	24	
	1 white blanket	20	
	3 ells woollen cloth at 8£	24	
	3 shirts at 8£	24	
	10 pounds tobacco at 40s	20	
	25 pounds powder at 40s	50	
	40 pounds balls at 20s	40	
	1 pound vermilion at	20	
	12 butcher knives for	10	
at 4£ a doz.	36 flints at 6£ a dozen	18	
50s a doz	36 wad-extractors at 6£ ditto	18	
50s a doz	36 awls at 6£ ditto	18	

⁶⁴ C11A85:19.

⁶⁵ C11A118:9-14v.

The same day to L'Homme Chef and his
band for the same purpose

	8 bottles of brandy at 10£ a <i>pot</i>	40£	}	[326£]
	2 ells of cloth at 12£ an ell	24		
	1 white blanket	20		
	3 ells woollen cloth at 8£	24		
	3 men's shirts at 8£	24		
	10 pounds tobacco at 40s	20		
	25 pounds powder at 40s	50		
	40 pounds balls at 20s	40		
	1 pound vermilion at	20		
	12 butcher knives for	10		
at 4£ a doz.	36 flints at 6£ a dozen	18		
50s a doz	36 wad extractors at ditto	18		
50s a doz	36 awls at ditto	18		

September 2

To Le Comte, also chief of the Ouiatanon

	8 bottles of brandy at 10£ a <i>pot</i>	40£	}	326.
	2 ells of cloth at 12£ an ell	24		
	1 white blanket at	20		
	3 ells of woollen cloth at 8£	24		
	3 men's shirts at 8£	24		
	25 pounds of powder at 40s	50		
	1 pound of vermilion at	20		
	12 butcher knives at	10		
4£ a doz	36 flints at 6£ a dozen	18		
50s a doz	36 wad-extractors at ditto	18		
50s a doz	36 awls at ditto	18		
	40 pounds balls at 20s	40		
	10 pounds tobacco at 40s	20		

September 3

To Deux Visages Plats, chief of the
Kickapoo, for the same purpose

	8 bottles of brandy at 10£ a <i>pot</i>	40£	}	326.
	2 ells of cloth at 12£ an ell	24		
	3 ells of woollen cloth at 8£	24		
	1 white blanket	20		
	3 men's shirts at 8£	24		
	25 pounds powder at 40s	50		
	40 pounds balls at 20s	40		
	10 pounds tobacco at 40s	20		
	1 pound vermilion for	20		
	12 butcher knives at	10		
at 50s	36 wad-extractors at 6£ a dozen	18		
at 4£	36 flints ditto	18		
at 50s	36 awls ditto	18		

September 5

To Le Temps Clair, chief of the
Mascouten, and his band

	8 bottles of brandy at 10£ a <i>pot</i>	40£	}	326.
	2 ells of cloth at 12£ an ell	24		
	1 white blanket	20		
	3 ells woollen cloth at 8£	24		
	3 men's shirts at ditto	24		
	10 pounds of tobacco at 40s	20		
	25 pounds of powder at 40s	50		
	40 pounds of balls at 20s	40		
	1 pound vermilion for	20		
	12 butcher knives for	10		
at 4£	36 flints at 6£ a dozen	18		
at 50s	36 wad-extractors at ditto	18		
at 50s	36 awls at ditto	18		

September 7

Withdrew from Le Comte, Ouiatanon chief, a
calumet which came on the part of the Iroquois,
which was for evil purposes.

	4 $\frac{2}{3}$ ells of linen to make a flag to give him at 3£ an ell	13£ 10s	}	67.10
300	grains of porcelain at 2s	30		
	2 ells of cloth at 12£	24		

September 8

La Peau Blanche, Ouiatanon chief, with his party
of thirty men, to lead it to the Chickasaw whom
he is going to attack

	5 pounds of powder at 40s	10£	}	50
	10 pounds of balls at 20s	10		
	10 pounds of tobacco at 40s	20		
	12 butcher knives for	10		

September 10

Given to M. the commandant to carry to L'Enfant,
chief of the Piankashaw at the Vermilion, for
the same purpose, to tell the news of the war

	3 ells of cloth at 12£ an ell	36£	}	[348]
	8 bottles of brandy at 10£ a <i>pot</i>	40		
	1 white blanket for	20		
	3 ells woollen cloth at 8£	24		
	3 men's shirts at 8£	24		
	10 pounds tobacco at 40s	20		
	25 pounds powder at 40s	50		
	40 pounds balls at 20s	40		
	1 pound vermilion at	20		
	24 butcher knives at 10£ a dozen	20		
at 4£	36 flints at 6£ ditto	18		
at 50s	36 wad-extractors	18		
at 50s	36 awls at ditto	18		

September 12 Given to Mainobas, chief of the Kickapoo, for the same purpose

	5 <i>pots</i> of brandy at 10£ a <i>pot</i>	50£	}	346
	2 ells of cloth at 12£ an ell	24		
	1 white blanket for	20		
	3 ells of woollen cloth at 8£	24		
	3 men's shirts at 8£	24		
	10 pounds of tobacco at 40s	20		
	25 pounds of powder at 40s	50		
	40 pounds of balls at 20s	40		
	1 pound of vermilion for	20		
	24 butcher knives at 10£ a dozen	20		
at 4£	36 flints at 6£ a dozen	18		
at 50s	36 wad-extractors at ditto	18		
at 50s	36 awls at ditto	18		

Ditto The same day given to Le Brave, chief of the Mascouten at Terre Haute

	5 <i>pots</i> of brandy at 10£	50£	}	212
	2 ells of cloth at 12£ an ell	24		
	1 white blanket	20		
	3 ells of woollen cloth at 8£	24		
	3 men's shirts at 8£	24		
	10 pounds of tobacco at 40s	20		
	25 pounds of powder at 40s	50		

September 12 Given to Le Brave, Mascouten chief

	40 pounds of balls at 20s	40£	}	154
	2 pounds vermilion at 20£	40		
	24 butcher knives at 10£ a dozen	20		
at 4£	36 flints at 6£ ditto	18		
at 50s	36 wad-extractors at ditto	18		
at 50s	36 awls at ditto	18		

September 16 Given to cover the son of La Teste Blanche, Ouiatanon chief

	2 ells of cloth at 12£ an ell	24£	}
	1 shirt for	8	
	1 ell woollen cloth	8	

Sept. 22 Given to L'Enfant to cover his son

	2 ells cloth at 12£	24	}	80
	1 ell woollen cloth	8		
	1 shirt for	8		

Sept. 26 Paid by order of M. the commandant to Broiyet [?] for a journey he made to Terre Haute for the service of the king
 Paid to Agathe for the same purpose

	40£	}	80
	40		

Oct. 5	Given to Le Comte, chief of the Ouyatanon, to cover his son.		
	2 ells of cloth at 12f	24f	}
	1 ell woollen cloth	8	
Nov. 30	Given to L'Homme Chef		48
	1 shirt for	8	}
	1 ell woollen cloth for	8	
Dec. 28	Given to La Graine upon arriving from war against the Chickasaw with 8 men		
	2 pounds of tobacco at 40s	4f	}
	1 bottle brandy	5	
Ditto [illegible]	Given to M. Portneuf by order of M. the commandant, according to the certificate signed Portneuf, dated December 18, 1746, the sum of		485.5
Feb. 5	Given to La Fleur, who came to bring the letters of M. the General with another man for the Illinois		
	food for three days to return	7f	}
	1 pound powder	2	
	2 pounds balls	2	
	1 mantle	5	
	1 rib of beef	5	
	2 pounds tobacco	2	
Feb. 7	Given to Proust for carrying letters to the Post of Vincennes		
	3 pounds of deerskin at 20s	3f	}
	1 pound powder	2	
	2 pounds balls	2	
	1 kettle	20	
	2 pounds tobacco at 40s	4	
Feb. 28	Given to L'Allemand who is going to carry letters and a calumet for M. the general.		
	1 pound of powder	2f	}
	2 pounds balls	2	
	1 rib of beef	5	
	2 pounds tobacco at 40s	4	
	Given to a savage, his guide		
	2 pounds tobacco at 40s	4	}
	1 quarter pound vermilion at 20f a lb.	5	

March 1	Given to La Teste Blanche and L'Homme, both Ouiatanon chiefs who came to take the tomahawk which M. de Bertet had sent last autumn		
	10 pounds of tobacco at 40s	20£	} 191.10
	6 pots of brandy at 10£	60	
	2 pounds vermilion at 20£	40	
	2 fine shirts at 10£	20	
March 2	Paid to Bonneau, blacksmith, for having mended the arms of the chiefs in the autumn		
		51.10	
March 4	At the departure from the lands last spring, given to Le Brave and Le Temps Clair to maintain them in a good disposition for the French, to have them drink a swallow of milk		
	6 pots of brandy at 10£	60£	} 100
	10 pounds tobacco at 40s	20	
	1 pound vermilion	20	
March 8	Given to the Ouiatanon chiefs for the same purpose		
	6 pots of brandy at 10£	60£	} 100
	10 pounds of tobacco at 40s	20	
	1 pound vermilion	20	
March 10	Given to a party of 30 men who are going to war on the Chickasaw, the chief La Mauvaise Jambe, Mascouten		
	10 pounds powder at 40s	20£	} 70
	20 pounds balls at 20s	20	
	10 pounds tobacco at 40s	20	
	12 butcher knives	10	
March 12	Given for the same purpose, the chief La Petite Jaretière, Ouiatanon		
	10 pounds powder at 40s	20£	} 76
	20 pounds balls at 20s	20	
	10 pounds tobacco at 40s	20	
	12 butcher knives	10	
4£ for all	12 wad-extractors and flints	6	
March 14	Given to a party of 15 men, the chief Le Commis, Ouiatanon		
	5 pounds of powder at 40s	10£	} 37
	10 pounds of balls at 20s	10	
	6 butcher knives at 10£ a dozen	5	
	6 pounds tobacco at 40s	12	

March 16

Given to a party of 12 men, the chief
La Noix, Mascouten, for the same pur-
pose

5 pounds of powder at 40s	10£	} 37
10 pounds of balls at 20s	10	
6 butcher knives at 10£ a dozen	5	
6 pounds of tobacco at 40s	12	

March 17

Given to a party of 30 men, the chief
Le Petit Bonheur, Kickapoo

	10 pounds of powder at 40s	20£	} 82
	20 pounds of balls at 20s	20	
	10 pounds of tobacco at 40s	20	
	12 butcher knives for	10	
at 4£	12 flints	6	
50s	12 wad-extractors	6	

March 22

Given to a party of Mascouten, war
chief Mirraquoist

	5 pounds of powder at 40s	10£	} 101.10
	10 pounds of lead and balls at 20s	10	
	6 pounds tobacco at 40s	12	
	6 butcher knives at 10£ a dozen	5	
1£.5	50 gunflints at 5£ a hundred	2.10	
4£	12 flints	6	
50s	12 wad-extractors	6	

April 20

Paid to L'Allemand for having car-
ried letters to the Miami the
sum of

50

Ditto

Paid to Proust for having carried
letters to Post Vincennes and
for having brought back others

150£

April 25

To invite the Ouiatanon and Mas-
couten to go down to Montreal

350

1 barrel of brandy of 16 pots at 10£ a pot	160	} 200.
20 pounds tobacco at 40s	40	

1 barrel of brandy of 16 pots given to the Kickapoo, Piankashaw, to L'Enfant and Mainbas at 10£ a pot	160£	} 200.
20 pounds of tobacco at 40s	40	

April 26

Given to L'Allemand by order of
M. the general to Post Vincennes

1/2 pound powder at 40s	1£	}	33
2 pounds of lead at 20s	2		
5 pounds of pork at 20s	5		
1 rib of beef	5		
1 canoe	20		

Ditto

Given to M. the commandant, who is going
to Terre Haute with 4 men for the above
subject

4 pounds of powder at 40s	8£	}	157
8 pounds of lead at 20s	8		
1 minot of oats and barley	6		
15 pounds of pork at 20s	15		
30 pounds of bread at 20s	30		
2 ribs of beef at 5£	10		
3 pots of brandy at 10£	30		

April 30

Paid to Gabriel LeFevre and his
nephew

50

May 4

Given to Roy and another man

1 canoe to return to the Miami	18£	}	38
1 minot of oats and barley	6		
8 pounds of pork at 20s	8		
1 pound of powder for	2		
4 pounds of lead at 20s	4		

May 6

Given to have the Ouiatanon chiefs assem-
bled to encourage the young warriors during
the absence of their chiefs who went to
Montreal to see their father

200 pounds of porcelain at 10£ a hundred	20£	}	[183]
30 pounds of powder at 40£	60		
40 pounds of balls at 20s	40		
1 white blanket	20		
6 butcher knives at 10£ a dozen	5		
6 pounds tobacco at 40s	12		
1 fine shirt	10		
2 ells woollen cloth at 8£	16		

Ditto

Given to the chief of the Kickapoo
and Mascouten

30 pounds of powder at 40s	60£	}	196
40 pounds of balls at 20s	40		
1 white blanket	20		
6 pounds tobacco at 40s	12		
1 1/2 ells of cloth at 12£ an ell	18		
200 grains of porcelain at 10£ a hundred	20		
1 fine shirt	10		
2 ells woollen cloth	16		

May 7

Given to cover the son of Pacanne,
the brother of Le Temps Clair

1 white blanket	20£	}	28
1 man's shirt	8		

May 8

Given to L'Enfant, who is going to
Montreal

1 kettle	25£	}	62
1 gun	25		
2 minots of wheat at 6£	12		

May 9

To make a feast, given to the Kickapoo
and Mascouten to persuade them to go
to Montreal

1 beef	150£	}	200
15 pounds of tobacco at 40s	30		
1 pound vermilion	20		

Ditto

For the Ouiatanon and Piankashaw
for the same purpose

1 beef	150£	}	200
15 pounds of tobacco at 40s	30		
1 pound vermilion	20		

May 9

Given to Mainbas

1 gun	25£	}	53
1 pound vermilion	20		
1 man's shirt	8		

May 10

Given to M. the commandant for
50 men, savages, who are
going to Montreal

	25 pounds of powder at 40s	50£	}	362
	40 pounds of balls at 20s	40		
	48 butcher knives at 10£ a dozen	40		
4£ a doz	48 flints at 6£ ditto	24		
50s ditto	48 wad-extractors at ditto	24		
50s ditto	48 awls at ditto	24		
at 50s a hundred	200 gunflints at 5£ a hundred	10		
	25 pounds of tobacco at 40s	50	}	
Ditto	Given to Le Vieux Sourd upon leaving, 1 gun	25		
Ditto	Paid to L'Allemand for the journey which he just made to Post Vincennes	75		

Ditto

Given to Constant, interpreter, who
is going to Montreal with the nations

	1 minot of wheat	6£	}	28
	10 pounds pork at 20s	10		
	3 pounds tobacco at 40s	6		
	1 pound powder	2		
	4 pounds lead	4		

What Bonneau gave to M. Delino from
August 11, 1746, who carried the
packages of M. the general

	6 pounds of tobacco at 40s	12£	}	42.10
	1 bottle of brandy	5		
	1 1/4 ells of cloth at 12£ an ell	15		
	2 pounds of powder at 40s	4		
	4 pounds of balls at 20s	4		
	1 bearskin	2.10		

Reimbursed to Le Temps Clair by
the Sieur Portneuf according to
his certificate dated December 24,
1746

	1 quarter pound vermilion at 20£	5£	}	7
	1 pound powder	2		

May 10

Given to M. Portneuf at Terre Haute

	2 pounds powder at 40s	4£	}	5.10
	1 quarter of wheat at 6£	1.10		

6525£15

Closed the present report without error and omission, amounting to the sum of six thousand five hundred twenty-five livres, fifteen sols, at the Ouiatanon, May 10, 1747. Signed, MICHEL GAMELIN.

We, commandant for the king at the post of the Ouiatanon, certify that the Sieur Gamelin furnished the articles mentioned in the present report for the service of the king, which will be paid him at the royal treasury of the marine at Quebec in the present year. Done at said post of the Ouiatanon, May 10, 1747. Signed, LA PÉRADE *fi ls*. Noted, signed, LA GALISSONIERE.⁶⁶

Closed and adjusted the expense mentioned in the present list at the sum of six thousand two hundred forty-five livres, ten sols. Signed, BIGOT.⁶⁷

No. 35.⁶⁸
100£

We, commandant for the king at the Post of the Ouiatanon, certify that the Sieur Fourtre furnished a cow for the service of the king for the sum of one hundred livres, which will be paid him at the treasury of Quebec. Done at the Ouiatanon, the fifth of July, seventeen hundred forty-seven. Signed, LA PÉRADE *fi ls*. Noted, signed LA GALISSONIERE. Closed the expense mentioned in the present certificate at the sum of one hundred livres. Signed, BIGOT

No. 36.⁶⁹
30£

We, commandant for the king at the Ouiatanon, certify that the sum of thirty livres is due Julian Des Rivières

⁶⁶ Roland-Michel Barrin, Comte and later Marquis de la Galissonnière (1693-1756), governor of New France, 1747-49. *Illinois Historical Collections*, XXVII, xiv.

⁶⁷ François Bigot, notorious intendant of New France from 1748 until the surrender in 1760.

⁶⁸ C11A118:145.

⁶⁹ C11A117:117.

for the price of a canoe which he furnished for the service of the king. At the said post of the Ouiatanon, July 2, 1747. Signed, LE CHEVALIER DE LA PEIRADE *fils*. Noted, LA GALISSONIERE. Closed the canoe mentioned above at the sum of thirty livres. Signed, BIGOT.

No. 37.

La Galissonière and Hocquart, Quebec, October 7, 1747⁷⁰

* * * * *

Only nine canoes left for Detroit, which Messrs. de Beauharnois and Hocquart could hire only by granting permits free of charge, ten canoes for Michilimakinac, nine of which paid M. de Beauharnois 400£ each on condition of carrying eight hundred pounds for the king in each, and a tenth at 700£, which carried nothing.

4 canoes to the Miami
4 to Chagouamigon
2 left for Fort Dauphin, Mer de l'Ouest
6 for La Baye
2 for Michipicoton
4 for the Ouiatanon
2 for Népigon
4 for the Rivière St. Joseph
1 for Post Vincennes
2 for Camanistigoya

The lessees of all these posts have made remonstrances to be discharged from the price of their leases. . . .

* * * * *

No. 38. 1747. Journal of interesting events at Quebec on the occasion of the war movements and the different information received since the departure of the vessels in the month of November, 1747⁷¹

⁷⁰ C11A87:123v-124. A longer portion of this document is given in translation in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVII, 470-72.

⁷¹ C11A87:190-190v.

The Miami who had previously pillaged the property of the fort [of the Miami] and who had seized the French, delegated one of their principal chiefs to M. de Longueüil⁷² to beg him to send them Frenchmen again and not to deprive them of the aid which they could not do without, promising him that affairs would right themselves in a little while. This officer yielded to their solicitation in order to take away from the enemy the liberty of securing a post which is very consequential. The Sieur Dubuisson,⁷³ ensign, whom he sent there, is to make only a little establishment to pass the winter; he gave him thirty Frenchmen to maintain himself there and had him accompanied by forty others destined for the trade of the Ouiatanon, with orders to this last detachment to rejoin the Sieur Dubuisson in the spring to return in convoy to Detroit. M. de Longueüil adds that since some French remained at the Ouiatanon, even some families which are settled there, he did not believe it necessary to abandon regions where no further disorder has occurred and where great ones could occur for lack of aid; furthermore, since he had previously pledged himself to send merchant traders to the Kickapoo, Mascouten, Winnebago, and Ouiatanon, he could not break his word since the nations had kept theirs to him.

* * * * *

No. 39.⁷⁴

40£

We, officers detached for the king, certify that the man named Dubois has fed five men who came to conduct me to the Ouiatanon for twenty days at the rate of forty sols a day, making in all forty livres, which will be paid him at the royal treasury of Quebec. At Rivière St.

⁷² Paul-Joseph le Moyne de Longueüil, commandant at Detroit, 1743-49. *Illinois Historical Collections*, XXIX, xxin.

⁷³ Louis-Jacques-Charles Renault Dubuisson (b. 1709). For sketch see *ibid.*, p. 107n.

⁷⁴ C11A119:26.

Joseph, this eleventh day of August, one thousand seven hundred forty-eight. Signed, CARQUEVILLE.⁷⁵ Noted and signed, LA JONQUIERE.⁷⁶

Closed the present certificate at the sum of forty livres. Signed, BIGOT.

No. 40.⁷⁷

60£

We, officer commanding for the king at the posts of the Miami and Ouiatanon, certify that the man named Cardinal led from the Ouiatanon to the Post of the Miami, a distance of seventy leagues, four oxen which I asked for the maintenance of this post, to use upon occasion for the nourishment of the thirty men which I have in garrison as well as to haul the wood necessary for the construction of the barracks, for firewood, and other necessities for the repair of the fort. The said Cardinal made this journey for the sum of sixty livres, in witness whereof I have given him the present certificate to be paid on the account of the king. Done at the Miami, October 17, 1748. Signed, LA NAUDIERE. Noted, signed, LA JONQUIERE.

Closed the expenditure above at the sum of sixty livres. Signed, BIGOT.

No. 41.⁷⁸

90£

M. de Richarville, commandant at the post of the Ouiatanon, having assembled us to make an estimate of

⁷⁵ Claude Drouet de Carqueville (1718-55), commandant at Ouiatanon, 1748-51. *Illinois Historical Collections*, XXIX, 123n. See also Documents 41 and 46 below.

⁷⁶ Pierre Jacques de Taffanel, Marquis de la Jonquière (ca. 1680-1752), governor of New France from 1749 until his death. *Illinois Historical Collections*, XXIX, xxxin.

⁷⁷ C11A118:419.

⁷⁸ C11A119:70-70v.

a house, according to the order of M. the general, after we examined the house, we valued it at the sum of nine hundred livres and judged that it belongs to the company of M. the Chevalier de la Pérade. In witness whereof we have delivered the present certificate to use if needed. Done at the Ouiatanon, this twenty-fourth day of November, 1748. Signed, HENRY CATIN, FOUCHÉ, witnesses, and PARAN.

We, commanding officer for the king at the Ouiatanon, considering the estimate made of said house as I had been enjoined to do by M. the general, have taken the house for the account of the king to use for the men near by as well as to lodge savage war parties who are going toward our enemies and to hold savage councils, since there is no other house in this fort suitable for this purpose. In witness whereof I have delivered the present certificate to be paid by the king. Done at the Ouiatanon, this twenty-fourth day of November, 1748. Signed, DROUET DE CARQUEVILLE.

Closed the price of the house above at the sum of nine hundred livres. Signed, BIGOT.

*No. 42.*⁷⁹

370£

I certify that I took for the account of the king to M. the Chevalier de la Pérade a pirogue to give to the men whom I am sending to carry the letters of M. Longueüil to the Illinois concerning the truce with England, as I was ordered to do. Acquired said pirogue for the sum of one hundred livres and eighteen minots of wheat at fifteen livres a minot, to nourish the couriers as well as to give to the different savages who go and return for the service of the king. Done at the Ouiatanon, this twenty-fifth of November, one thousand seven hundred

⁷⁹ C11A119:67.

forty-eight. Signed, DROUET CARQUEVILLE. Noted, signed, LA GALISSONIERE.

Closed the expense mentioned in the present certificate at the sum of three hundred seventy livres. Signed, BIGOT.

*No. 43.*⁸⁰

372£

I certify that I received for the account and service of the king one hundred nine pounds of tobacco from the Illinois at three livres a pound to use to give to the savages in the councils and to the men of the escort, the said tobacco belonging to the Sieur de Lisle, who will be paid for it by the king at Quebec. Done at Ouiatanon, November 27, 1748. Signed, LA NAUDIERE.⁸¹ Noted, signed, LA JONQUIERE.

Closed and reduced the present certificate at the sum of two hundred seventy-two livres, ten sols. Signed, BIGOT.

No. 44. Expenses occasioned by the movements of the upper country⁸²

Fiscal year 1749

Statement of funds to remit to Canada for payment of the expenses made for the service of the king in the upper country, on the occasion of the movements of the savage nations, as follows:

* * * * *

Post of the Ouiatanon

Les Carquevilles, officers, commandant

⁸⁰ C11A119:72.

⁸¹ Charles François Xavier Tarieu de la Pérade de la Naudière. See note above.

⁸² C11A118:339-340.

To François Bissonet for a journey, according to the attached certificate	100£.
To Gabriel le Febvre for ditto, according to ditto	200 .
To him for ditto, according to ditto	70 .
To the Chevalier de la Peirade for a pirogue, according to ditto	370 .
To the Sieur Gauderre and Constant for two cows at 120£ each, according to the attached certificate	240 .
To the man named Bonneau for having mounted two guns and mended two locks, according to ditto	28 .
To the Chevalier la Peirade for the price of a house, according to the estimate and certificate attached	900 .
To the Sieur de Lisle for 120 pounds of tobacco at 50 sols a pound, according to the certificate attached	272 .10
To him for 150 pounds of tobacco at 50 sols and 400 pounds of balls at 16 sols a pound, according to the certificate attached	695 .
To the man named Buette for a journey he made to Rivière St. Joseph, according to ditto	70 .
To Sieur Beauchesne for ditto to the Illinois, according to ditto	200 .
To him for gunsmith's work, according to ditto	100 .
To S. Desou for supplies according to the attached memoir	1155 .
To the Sieur Poligny for supplies according to ditto	186 .
To the Sieur Catin for supplies according to ditto	1571 .
To the man named La Rammée for gunsmith's work according to the attached certificate	75 .
To the Sieur Beauchesne for a journey to the Miami according to ditto	60 .
To the Sieur Gaudet for 15 pounds of tobacco at 40 sols a pound, according to ditto	30 .
To the Sieur de la Peirade for a pirogue according to ditto	60 .
To the Sieur Gervais for 12,000 grains of porcelain at six livres a hundred	72 .
To the Sieur la Naudière for supplies according to the memoir attached	1692 .
	<hr/>
	8146 .10

*No. 45.*⁸³
80£

I certify that the sum of eighty livres is due the man named Clairmont for having conducted the presents for the nations of the Wabash to the post of the Ouiatanon, the said goods sent by M. the general having remained at the Miami last autumn because there was no water to convey them; which sum the said Clairmont will be paid on account of the king. In witness whereof I have given him the present certificate. Done at the Miami, May 31, 1749. Signed, LA NAUDIERE. Noted, LA JONQUIERE.

Closed the journey mentioned above at the sum of eighty livres. Signed, BIGOT.

*No. 46.*⁸⁴

September 17, 1749.

List of sums arising from the proceeds of the posts of the upper country received by M. the Marquis de la Galissonière since October 23, 1748, all that remained then in effect and outstanding from the proceeds of said year 1748, and what he received and remains outstanding from the present year 1749, up to this day, September 17, and payments made on the said sums during the said time, to wit:

Receipts

* * * * *

For the post of the Ouiatanon

No permit was disposed of; the habitants of Detroit have the liberty of going to trade at the Ouiatanon on the permits which will be delivered to them by the commandant of Detroit.

* * * * *

Expenditures

Ouiatanon There was no commandant during the time of

⁸³ C11A118:436.

⁸⁴ C11A116:152, 158-59.

the lease of this post to M. the Chevalier de la Peyrade. M. de Carqueville took command of it in the month of May, 1748, at 2000£ a year

* * * * *

*No. 47.*⁸⁵
100£

I certify that the sum of one hundred livres is due the man named François Lebau, habitant of La Longue Pointe, which was granted him for going to be garrisoned at the Ouiatanon in the capacity of a soldier, as was regulated and ordered by M. de Sabrevois, commandant at Detroit, which sum will take the place of pay and of clothing. Done at Detroit, September 28, 1749. Signed, NAVARRE, noted, SABREVOIS.

I, François Lebau, acknowledge that the Sieur Eustache Gamelin paid me the sum of one hundred livres mentioned above, as a consequence of which I release them and all others, substituting him in my place and stead. Done at Detroit, September 28, 1749, in the presence of the undersigned witnesses. When asked, after reading had been done, the said Lebau declared that he did not know how to write or sign. Signed, ST. BERNARD and SIMON GENDRON, noted, signed LA JONQUIERE.

I asked my brother, Gamelin Maugras, to be good enough to ask the gentlemen of the treasury for me, and to receive the sum mentioned above, for which and all that is required I give him authority. Done at Detroit, April 12, 1750. Signed, EUSTACHE GAMELIN.

Closed the expense mentioned in the present certificate at the sum of one hundred livres. Signed, BIGOT.

⁸⁵ C11A119:240.

No. 48. Raymond,⁸⁶ the Miami, January 5, 1750⁸⁷

MONSIEUR,

From what I learn, La Demoiselle⁸⁸ seems to be far from keeping the promise which he gave by the belts which M. de Celoron⁸⁹ sent you to return to the Miami with his band. This savage sent speeches into all the winter quarters of the Miami of the bands of Le Pied Froid⁹⁰ and in those of the Potawatomi of St. Joseph and of the Wea to have them go to the Great Miami. They have all promised to take their furs there. The general news is that a party of Ouiatanon is to go settle there. Le Pied Froid fears that all the savages of his band will decide to do so; none of those who were in that region last autumn have returned.

* * * * *

No. 49. Memoir on Canada, April, 1750⁹¹

* * * * *

Since M. the Chevalier de la Galissonnière likewise thought that this arrangement ought to take place,⁹² the Sieur de Céloron, captain, was chosen to fill this command. He was granted the rank of major, a salary of 1,200£, and an ordinary allowance of 3,000£ to be taken from the proceeds of the permits which may be disposed of for the exploitation of the post. And he was granted at the same time, upon the proposal of M. de la Galissonnière, the authority over the posts of the Miami,

⁸⁶ Charles de Raymond (ca. 1706-74), commandant at the Miami post from 1749 to 1751. Aegidius Fauteux, "Le Chevalier de Raymond," in *Rapport de l'archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1927-1928*, pp. 317-22.

⁸⁷ C11A95:380.

⁸⁸ La Demoiselle had led a band of Miami to the Great Miami during the rebellion of 1747. He was sometimes called a Piankashaw.

⁸⁹ Pierre Joseph Céloron de Blainville in 1749 led a famous expedition down the Ohio to strengthen the position of the French in that region.

⁹⁰ Le Pied Froid was the great chief of the Miami. C11A97:389v.

⁹¹ C11A96:230-230v.

⁹² Assigning a permanent commandant to Detroit.

White River,⁹³ and Ouiatanon, or of the Wabash nations.

* * * * *

No. 50. Raymond, the Miami, May, 1750⁹⁴

* * * * *

[Report of Le Pian⁹⁵]

My father, the Ouiatanon have assured the English and La Demoiselle that before the summer is over they will strike the French in good fashion; they had been faithful until the present, but they were disheartened by being poorly received by M. the general, who hardly looked at them and allowed them to leave without giving them anything more than a bagatelle which was not worth the effort of leaving their village; it costs no more with the French to be a scoundrel than to be honest men; it was to the worst and to those who had killed Frenchmen that M. the general gave the most presents.

* * * * *

No. 51. Croghan's Transactions with the Indians Previous to Hostilities on the Ohio⁹⁶

* * * * *

In November [1750] I went to the country of the Twigh-twees by order of the Governor with a small present to renew the chain of friendship, in company with Mr Montour Inter-

⁹³ This site has not been identified.

⁹⁴ C11A95:392v-393.

⁹⁵ A chief of the Miami that followed La Demoiselle to the English. This document is printed in both French and in translation in *Illinois Historical Collections*, XXIX, 197-98, as part of the reports of Raymond.

⁹⁶ Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846* (32 volumes. Cleveland, 1904-7), I, 90-92. George Croghan (d. 1782), an Indian trader, in 1756 became Sir William Johnson's deputy superintendent of Indian affairs. He assisted in the capture of Fort Duquesne (1758) and helped occupy Detroit (1760). He was later sent out to open up the Wabash and Illinois country to English occupation. *Dictionary of American Biography*, IV (1943), 556-57.

preter; on our journey we met Mr Gist, a messenger from the Governor of Virginia, who was sent to invite the Ohio Indians to meet the Commissioners of Virginia at the Logs town in the Spring following to receive a present of goods which their father the King of Great Britain had sent them. Whilst I was at the Twightwee town delivering the present and message, there came several of the Chiefs of the Wawioughtanes and Pianguisha Nations, living on Wabash, and requested to be admitted into the chain of friendship between the English and the Six Nations and their allies; which request I granted & exchanged deeds of friendship with them, with a view of extending His Majesty's Indian interest, and made them a small present. On my return I sent a copy of my proceedings to the Governor. On his laying it before the House of Assembly, it was rejected and myself condemned for bad conduct in drawing an additional expence on the Government, and the Indians were neglected.

* * * * *

*No. 52 Christopher Gist's Journal, 1751*⁹⁷

* * * * *

Monday, Feby 25 [1751].—This Day We received a Speech from the Wawaughtanneys and Pyankeshees (two Tribes of the Twigtwees) One of the Chiefs of the former spoke "Brothers, We have heard what You have said to Us by the Interpreter and We see You take Pity upon our poor Wives and Children, and have taken Us by the Hand into the great Chain of Friendship; therefore We present You with these two

⁹⁷ *Christopher Gist's Journals with Historical, Geographical and Ethnological Notes and Biographies of his Contemporaries*, edited by William M. Darlington (Pittsburgh, 1893), pp. 52, 55. Gist (1706-59) made a careful exploration of southern Ohio and northern Kentucky in 1750. He was with Washington on the expedition to Fort Duquesne and at the surrender at Fort Necessity, and served as a guide to Washington on Braddock's campaign. *Dictionary of American Biography*, VII (1943), 323-24.

Bundles of Skins to make Shoes for your People, and this Pipe to smook in, to assure You that our Hearts are good and true towards You our Brothers; and We hope that We shall all continue in true Love and Friendship with one another, as People with one Head and one Heart ought to do; You have pityed Us as You always did the rest of our Indian Brothers, We hope that Pity You have always shewn, will remain as long as the Sun gives Light, and on our Side you may depend upon sincere and true Friendship towards You as long as We have Strength"—This Person stood up and spoke with the Air and Gesture of an Orator.

* * * * *

Before the French Indians had come into Town, We had drawn Articles of Peace and Alliance between the English and the Wawaughtanneys and Pyankeshees; the Indentures were signed sealed and delivered on both Sides, and as I drew them I took a Copy⁹⁸

* * * * *

No. 53. La Jonquière, Quebec, September 27, 1751⁹⁹

* * * * *

M. de Vaudreuil¹⁰⁰ wrote me that the Mascouten intend to move from the neighborhood of the Ouiatanon, that it would be very pleasing if this nation should settle near the Fort of the Piankashaw where it can be very useful to him, and that since they are not far removed from going there, he begs me to urge

⁹⁸ The text of this treaty is given in *George Mercer Papers Relating to the Ohio Company of Virginia*, compiled and edited by Lois Mulkearn (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1954), pp. 138-139.

⁹⁹ C11A97:94v-95. This document is given in both French and English translation in *Illinois Historical Collections*, XXIX, 369-80.

¹⁰⁰ Pierre Rigaud de Vaudreuil-Cavagnal. At this time he was governor of Louisiana, which post he held from 1743 to 1753. He was the last governor general of New France, which post he held from 1755 until the conquest of the English. *Ibid.*, xixn-xxn.

them to decide to do so, so much the more because they had decided to withdraw to the Fox, their allies, where we would be less assured of their fidelity.

I replied to M. de Vaudreuil that the settlement in question cannot take place, that it is infinitely important to leave the Kickapoo and Mascouten in their village near the Ouiatanon, less because of the prejudice which their absence would cause to the trade of this post, than because it behooves us to keep these two nations, who are very strongly attached to the French, in this location, especially in the present circumstances.

* * * * *

No. 54. De Ligneris,¹⁰¹ Ouiatanon, October 3, 1752¹⁰²

* * * * *

After all these hostilities the Piankashaw have retired in the direction of White River, where they have carried with them the greater part of the Ouiatanon. I have retained one band since spring, and I have sent messages all summer long to the others to persuade them to abandon our enemies, and to return to their village, if they did not wish to be themselves treated like enemies. I have at last succeeded with the aid of the Potawatomi of St. Joseph, and they all returned here toward the end of August and the first days of September. They have made me great protestations of fidelity for the future, but if we are tardy in avenging ourselves for the treachery which the Piankashaw have done us, I do not believe that we can count much upon their fine discourse, in which I think there is little sincerity. I have had the Kickapoo who were at

¹⁰¹ François-Marie le Marchand de Ligneris (1704-59), commandant at Ouiatanon, 1751-53. It was he who burned Fort Duquesne to prevent its falling into the hands of the English. He died a prisoner at Fort Niagara, of wounds received in action. *Rapport de l'archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1920-1921*, p. 210.

¹⁰² *Illinois Historical Collections*, XXIX, 731-732. The letter is printed in full in both French and English translation in *ibid.*, pp. 730-734.

Terre Haute return here, and this was for the Ouiatanon a means of persuasion, because they know the attachment which the former tribe has for us. Nevertheless, they will not take up arms against our enemies unless they see us with strength sufficient to be in a state to leave them out: then their aid would be useless for us.

* * * * *

No. 55. Canada, 1754. Account of the receipts and expenses of the posts of the upper country, rendered by M. the Marquis Duquesne,¹⁰³ to wit

Receipts	
Balance from the previous year	105£.
Detroit	
Thirteen permits at 500£ a piece	6500 .
Missilimakinac	
Eighteen permits at 600£ each	10800 .
St. Joseph	
Four permits at 600£	2400 .
Illinois	
Twelve permits at 500£	6000 .
La Baie	
For the lease of the post, due in June, 1755	9000 .
Mer d'Ouest	
For the lease of the post due in June, 1755	9000 .
Temiscamingue	
For the lease of the post due in August, 1754	3500 .
Chagouamigon	
For the lease of the post due in June, 1755	8100 .
Nepigon and Lac à La Carpe	
For the lease of the post due in June, 1754	4000 .
Camanestigouia and Michipicoton	
For the lease of the post due in June, 1754	4000 .
Miami	
For the lease of the post due in June, 1755	1200 .

¹⁰³ C11A100:28-28v, and C11A119:317-318. Michel Ange, Marquis Duquesne de Menneville (1701-78), governor general of New France, 1752-55. *Illinois Historical Collections*, XXIX, xxxviii.

Ouiatanon	
For the lease of the post due in June, 1755	1200 .
	<hr/>
	65805£.

No. 56. Extract of news in Canada, 1756¹⁰⁴

* * * * *

By letters of April 29 from M. de Bellaitre from the Ohio River we learned that after he penetrated the country to a distance of 150 leagues below Fort Duquesne with twenty Frenchmen, 150 Miami, Ouiatanon, and some Shawnee to serve him as guides, they fell on Carolina, where they traveled about sixty leagues among abandoned habitations. At the end of that time they fell upon a village of from thirty to forty houses, which they took and burned. To them was joined a little fort which was called upon to surrender; refusing to do so, it was carried by assault and the garrison was put to the sword. As many were killed as taken prisoner, about three hundred persons. All the assembled cattle were killed; 120 horses which they found were used to carry the considerable booty which the savages made, and on the way back they set fire to all the habitations which they had left.

M. de Bellaistre was wounded in an arm and lightly in the shoulder; we lost five men, and have five or six wounded.

* * * * *

No. 57. Memoir¹⁰⁵

* * * * *

The Ouiatanon, a fort of upright poles, situated on the right bank of the Wabash or St. Jerome. This post is leased for 1200£ to the commandant. The savages which trade there are the Ouiatanon, the Kickapoo, the Mascouten, and the tribes

¹⁰⁴ C11A101:358-358v.

¹⁰⁵ C11E13:144. An incomplete, undated memoir, written after the founding of Fort Duquesne but before 1758.

of the Vermilion. They can furnish three hundred warriors. From this post and its dependencies are shipped from three hundred to four hundred packages.

Post Vincennes, a pretty village also situated on the Wabash, a dependency of New Orleans, whose governor sends a commandant there. It may have eighty habitants who till the soil and harvest wheat. The Piankashaw trade there; perhaps eighty packages are made there.

The Miami, fort of upright poles on the right bank of the river of this name. At this fort begins a portage of three leagues which leads to waters falling to the southwest; the post is leased to the commandant for 1200£.

The savages who come there to trade are the Miami and the Teppisoineaux. The former can furnish 150 warriors. In an ordinary year from 250 to 300 packages leave this post.

* * * * *

No. 58. Lieut. Edward Jenkins to Col. Henry Bouquet, Detroit, November 4, 1761¹⁰⁶

* * * * *

I shall set of to morrow for a Fort called Wawiachtas in the Map, but the people here call it Ouiatanon and in case you want any Indian curiosities that is to be got there if you'll only be good enough to let me know and you may depend upon getting them the first opportunity.

* * * * *

No. 59. Capt. Donald Campbell to Col. Henry Bouquet, Detroit, August 26, 1762¹⁰⁷

* * * * *

I have already mentioned to the General the necessity Lieut Jenkins was under of making presents to the Indians on our taking Possession of Ouiatanon

¹⁰⁶*Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, XIX, 118.

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*, XIX, 162.

No. 60. A list of Indian nations¹⁰⁸

* * * * *

The Mineamie Fort

Mineamies or Twightwees 230

The Ouiatanon

Ouiatanons	200)	
Kickapoose	180)570
Musketons	90)	
Pyankishaws	100)	

* * * * *

No. 61. Bouquet's expedition against the Ohio Indians¹⁰⁹

* * * * *

NAMES of different INDIAN NATIONS in NORTH-AMERICA,
with the Numbers of their Fighting Men

The following list was drawn up by a French trader, a person of considerable note, who has resided many years among the Indians, and still continues at Detroit, having taken the oaths of allegiance to the King of Great Britain. His account may be depended on, so far as matters of this kind can be brought near the truth; a great part of it being delivered from his own personal knowledge.

* * * * *

Miamis, upon the river of that name, falling into Lake Erie. 350

* * * * *

Kickapoos)	300
Ouachtenons) on the Wabash	400
Peanquichas)	250

¹⁰⁸ *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, X (Albany, 1951), 545. Contemporary copy in PRO, W. O. 34, Vol. 39. The list was made by Thomas Hutchins and was enclosed in Croghan to Amherst, October 5, 1762.

¹⁰⁹ *An Historical Account of the Expedition against the Ohio Indians in the Year MDCCLXIV Under the Command of Henry Bouquet, Esq.* (Philadelphia, 1766), pp. 69-70.

No. 62. Croghan's Journal, 1765¹¹⁰

* * * * *

23d [June] Earley in the Morning we sett out thro a fine Meadow then some clear Woods in the afternoon came into a very large Bottom on the Cuabache within about 6 Miles of Ouiatanon. here I met several Chiefs to the Kicapoots and Musquatimes who spoke to their Young Men that had taken us and reprimanded them severely for What they had done to me after Which they returned to their Village and delivered us all to their Chiefs the Distance from Post Vincent to Ouaitonan is 210 Miles this Place is situated on the Cuabache; about 14 French Families are living in the Fort which Stands on the North Side of the River: The Kicapoots & Musquatimes whose Warriors had taken us live nigh the Fort on the Same Side of the River where they have two Villages and the Cauatanons have a Village on the South Side of the River; At our Arrival at this Post several of the Wawcottanans (or Cuiatanons) with whome I Had been formerly acquainted came to Visit me and seemed greatly concerned at what had happened they went immediately to the Kicapoots and Musquatimes and Charged them to take the greatest Care of us till their Chiefs should arrive from the Illionois where they were gone to meet me some time ago and who were intirely ignorant of this affair and said the French had spirited up this Party to go and Strike us: The French have a very great Influence over these Indians and seldom fail of telling them many lies to the Prejudice of His Majestys Interest by making the English Nation odious and hateful to them The Country hereabouts is exceedingly Pleasant being open and clear for many Miles the Soil very rich and well watered all Plants have a

¹¹⁰ Clarence W. Alvord and Clarence E. Carter (eds.), *The New Régime, 1765-1767* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, XI, Springfield, 1916), pp. 33-35. There are two versions of this journal and the appropriate selections from both are given here. For a printing of these two journals and a discussion of them, see *ibid.*, pp. 23-52.

quick vegetation and the Climate very temperate thro' the Winter: This Post has always been a very considerable Trading place The Great Plinto of T [*sic*] taken in this country induced the French to establish this Post which was the First on the Cuabache and by a very advantageous Trade they have been richly recompensed for their Labour.

On the South Side of the Cuabache runs a High Bank in which are Several fine Coal Mines and behind this Bank is a very Fine Meadow clear for several Miles . . . These Meadows bear fine Wild Grass and Wild Hemp 10 or 12 Feet High which if properly Manufactured would prove as good and answer the Same purposes of the Hemp we cultivate.

* * * * *

No. 63. Croghan's Journal, 1765¹¹¹

* * * * *

[June] 17th We set off & the 23d arrived at Ouiatanon, where this party had sett out from, on my Arrival at this place I met Numbers of Indians with whom I was formerly well acquainted, & who were extremely Civil to me & my party.

30th The several Chiefs belonging to those Villages at Ouiatonon arrived from the Illinois, & there were with them the Chiefs of several other Nations who came to see me, & expressed their great concern at what had happened.

July 1st A Frenchman arrived from the Illinois with a Pipe and Speech from thence to the Kickapoos & Musquatamies, to have me Burnt, this Speech was said to be sent from a Shawanese Indn who resides at the Illinois, & has been during the War, & is much Attached to the French interest. As soon as this Speech was delivered to the Indians by the French, the Indians informed me of it in Council, & expressed their great concern for what had already happened, & told me they then sett me & my People at liberty, . . . & desired me to stay with

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

them 'till the Deputies of the Six Nations, Shawanese & Delawares arrived with Pondiac at Ouiatonon in order to settle matters, to wh^h I consented.

From 4th to the 8th I had several Conferences with the Wawcotonans, Pyankeeshas, Kickapoos, & Musquatamies in which Conferences I was lucky enough to reconcile those Nations to His Majesties Interest & obtain their Consent and Approbation to take Possession of any Posts in their Country which the French formerly possessed

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